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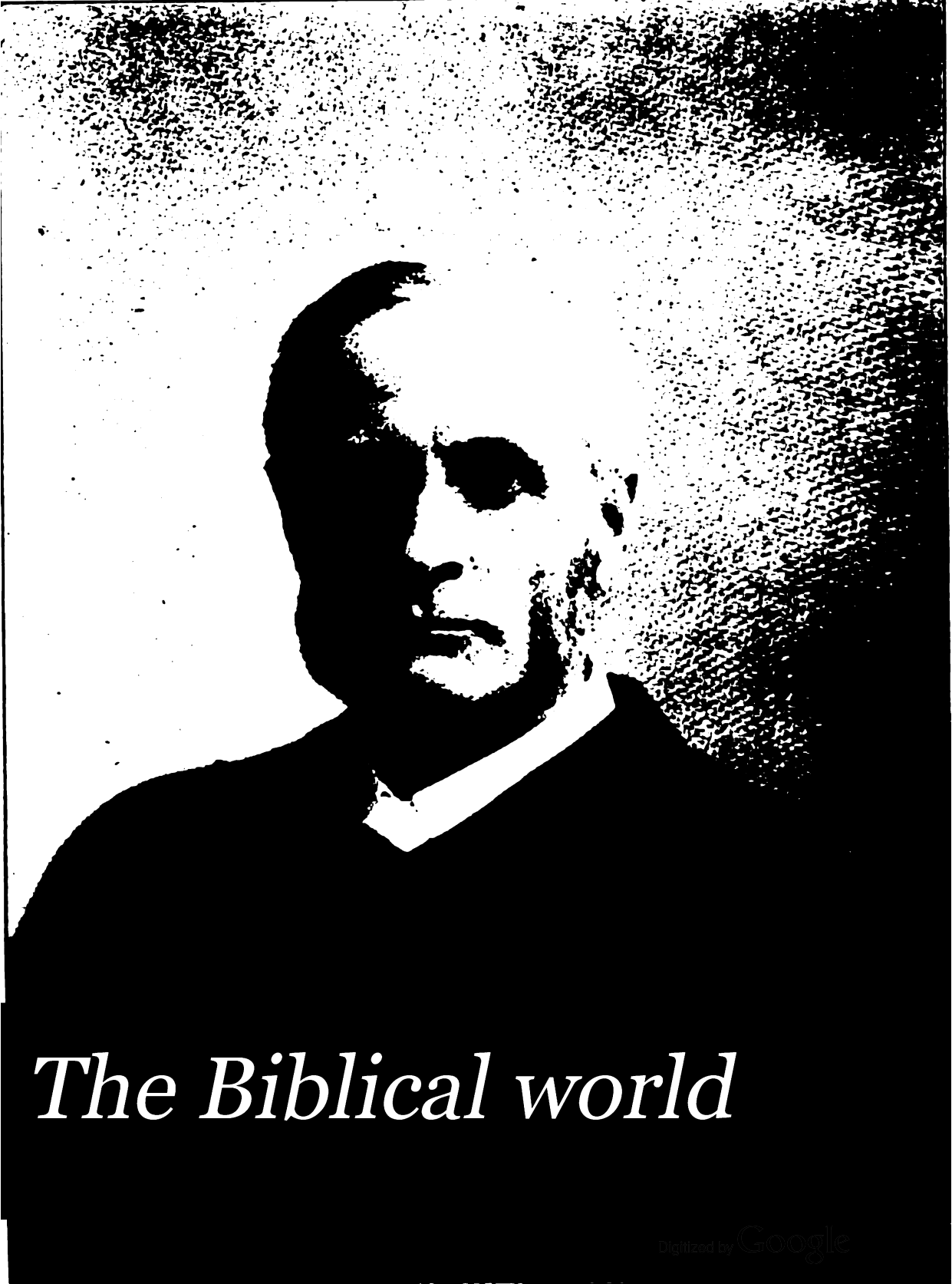
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The Biblical world

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VOLUME VI.

JULY, 1895

NUMBER 1

CONCEPTIONS of the character of Jesus the Christ vary with times and circumstances. From the days when a jealous village-folk could see in him only a carpenter turned itinerant preacher to the days of the latest vendor of Utopias, the eternal Christ has been misconceived and wrongly described. Not that he has been totally misconceived or totally caricatured. The past has not been altogether wrong any more than the present is altogether right. In both alike are there to be discovered elements of opinion that both correctly and incorrectly represent the Son of Man. The mistake generally has consisted in confusing a partial with a complete presentation. Today as never before does the thinking portion of the church need to distinguish between the essential and the purely transitory elements in its thoughts of its Master.

TODAY'S misconceptions of Jesus are a tribute to the extent of his influence. Their very number shows how all men are looking towards him. There never was a day when men of all shades of belief and all sorts of aims claimed more eagerly or more confidently the sanction of the teacher of Nazareth. It is because he is so widely known that he is so ill known. The zeal for a partial has devoured the zeal for a complete master, and the real Christ is lost in enthusiasms that boast his approval.

**WHAT THINK
YE OF CHRIST?**

**PREVALENT MIS-
CONCEPTIONS OF
JESUS PROVE
HIS INFLUENCE**

It is easy to think of Jesus as one of the long line of victims to political idealism. As men's hearts grow warm with the new wine of municipal reform, they are very ready to find inspiration in him who turned swindlers out of the temple, and counselled the honest payment of taxes. Was not his death due to corruption? The treasurer of his new kingdom—what was he but a spoilsman who embezzled the kingdom's funds and then sold out its king? The analogy is easy and the application telling. In the name of the Master let us purge the polls, turn rascals out of office, clean city streets, form civic federations.

Worthy aims these—aims that spring directly from the higher conception of life given the world by the words and life of Jesus. To minimize the need of municipal purity and Christian citizenship would be to brand oneself a fool or a knave. But he who sees in Jesus simply a type of civic reformer, or who gets from his words calls to political energy alone, is sadly limiting and misinterpreting the Christ of the gospel.

NOR was Jesus primarily a social reformer. No man ever struck out more vigorously against vice, no man was ever more sympathetic with fallen men and women, no man ever set in motion such mighty forces of reform; but it is shocking to our deeper reverence for him to think of his mission as confined to the sphere of social environment, or of his interest in publicans and harlots as purely scientific. We expect from him no studies in statistics, no measuring of foreheads and thumbs, no colored maps, no philanthropic experiments, no legislation, no investigating committees. If he consorts with the abandoned classes it is neither in the spirit of the professional investigator nor in that of an amateur in human misery. He is a Healer, not a sociologist, a Saviour, not a reporter. He accomplished reforms, but he was more than a reformer. He saved men but he was more than a philanthropist.

JESUS NOT A
MERE CIVIC
REFORMER

NOR YET A
SOCIAL
REFORMER

STILL less was Jesus the champion of any one class of society. He was not an enemy of the rich and a friend only of the poor.

*STILL LESS A
CHAMPION OF
ANY SOCIAL
CLASS*

If he gave the multitudes free meals, he also dined with the rich. If he was homeless, he was the guest of the Pharisee. If he ministered to others, he also was ministered to from the substance of wealthy women. If he suffered between thieves, he was with the rich in his death. To make Jesus a communist is to juggle with words and ignorance. He attacks neither monopolies nor capital. He knew the dangers that lie in riches, and the aid distress lends to faith, but he never so far loses his intellectual balance as to teach that a man is any better because he is poor or holier because he is miserable. His kingdom was indeed for the poor—but for the poor in spirit. His command to sell possessions and give alms is no more universal than his command to pluck out an eye is literal. Jesus expected that his kingdom would be composed neither of beggars nor of men bereft of common sense. Great economic changes are undoubtedly in the gift of the future, but Jesus no more taught socialism than he sought to perpetuate the Roman empire or the temple tax. Good politics and equitable distribution of wealth, it is to be hoped, will result from Christian civilization, but Jesus stands committed to no scheme or ready-made millenium. In his kingdom there are no distinctions of sex, or country, or social status. He was not the champion of a class, but the Son of Man.

It is more difficult to feel that Jesus is portrayed in the Gospels as something more than a teacher of magnificent ethics.

*NOR WAS HE
SIMPLY A
MORALIST*

The world's tribute to Christ's moral teachings is certainly not blind. Respect for age will never prevent an honest man's acceptance of a new system in place of an old if once it be proved the better, and if a better morality than that of Christ's comes it must be and will be accepted. But until that new and better system comes,—and who yet sees the sign of its coming?—the word Christ will be supreme. No man has yet spoken like this man. Never-

theless the glory of Jesus lies not in the addition of a new ethical code. The sermon on the mount is hardly more Christian than human. Few of its maxims are not more or less successfully duplicated in other religious systems. If the gospel be nothing more than ethical teaching, the utmost we can say of it is that it is the best extant formulation of a universal sense of righteousness. But Christ is more than a Confucius, or an Epictetus. The essence of Christianity is not teaching but a Teacher.

AND the essential power of that Teacher was not his pedagogy but himself. As John says, God sent his Son, not mere information. Without Jesus the gospel would be as cold and as impotent as the tables of stone on which was cut the law. Here is the striking fact of the gospels. The world has seen many a genius, many a poet, many a prophet, many a teacher and reformer, but it has only one Christ. And the character that looks out from the incomplete records is not that of a man that speaks in his epitaph, but a most real and living personality. Men admire Socrates, they love Jesus. Age after age has asked itself what this Son of Man might be, and age after age after trying to call him poet or prophet or sage or teacher, has thrown such categories aside and has found satisfactory only the words of Peter—"Thou art the Christ of God."

AND this is not the word of logic but of experience. Doctrines must forever be liable to restatement and redefinition, but the religious nature and the religious experience that doctrines express are constant. The true significance of this confession of all men lies not in accuracy of definition, but in its instinctive recognition of something divine in Jesus. He is and has been to the world not merely a teacher but the representation of God to man. In him mankind has found the satisfaction of its religious needs. Explain it as one will, the testimony of millions is a

EXPERIENCE
THUS
COMPLEMENTS
THE GOSPELS

corroboration of the words to Philip, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."

THIS historical phenomenon is beyond dispute. The race may have been mistaken, Christian hopes may have been but deceits that led to virtue and myths that sustained martyrs,—any equally improbable hypothesis may be true,—it counts nothing. The fact remains that deceived or not deceived Christians have experienced a regenerating, personal influence that they have traced to Jesus Christ. In other words, history interprets and corroborates the gospel's representation of Jesus as essentially the consummation of humanity and the incarnation of the divine nature. The race with Christ in it is not what it was with Christ out of it. Knowledge of God is no longer so limited or so difficult as it was without the knowledge of the God-man. To limit him as do any of the views that we have called misconceptions is to manufacture a new Christ. So long as New Testament teachings and human experience are at one, so long is such a product uncalled for and delusive. It is well to appreciate all the many forms of helpfulness that are to be found in the gospel story, but it is infinitely better to realize that our Christ is greater than his admirers and greater than the partial pictures his admirers paint. There is real danger that in their endeavor to be social reformers and municipal censors, our religious teachers may forget that religion is at the bottom of every lasting reform, and that the Christ they preach, so far as men thus far know, is the one sure means of arousing religious emotions and of satisfying religious desire.

As far as we have any knowledge, Jesus Christ is portrayed and felt to be something more than reformer or teacher. He was both but he was more. He was the Son of God.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY: ITS HISTORY AND ITS MISSION.

I.

By REV. PROFESSOR GEORGE H. GILBERT, PH.D., D.D.,
Chicago Theological Seminary.

Late development of Biblical Theology—necessitated by the character of biblical study in the early and mediæval church—Its doctrine of inspiration—the allegorical method of exegesis—Biblical Theology the product of Humanism and the Reformation—The name at first used of biblical dogmatics—The science first clearly conceived by Gabler—The works of de Wette, von Cölln, and Baur.

BIBLICAL theology is the youngest child in the family of scientific theology, but like David, youngest of the eight sons of Jesse, it is destined, in the thought of many, to a royal career in the history of the church, and one signally blessed of the Lord.

It seems, at first thought, singular that biblical theology should have been born so late in the Christian centuries. The church has needed it from the beginning. It was needed, for example, in the eighteenth and seventeenth centuries, when according to Pfleiderer,¹ "there arose a new scholasticism which equaled the old in its want of freedom and in its dry journalism," when the springs of Scripture which had been opened by the reformers were buried again beneath the dogmas and endless confessions of theologians. It was needed through all the long ages of ecclesiastical domination when the spiritual diet of believers, instead of being the bread of God's Word, was the doctrine of the church, which, alas, was often but a stone. It was needed also in the early church, for although there was then a vital connection with the Scripture and a large appropriation of the essential truths of revelation, there was an apprehension of the *development* of revealed religion. Biblical theology has thus been needed from the first, because, as Dr. Schaff says,² "it brings

¹ *Philosophy and Development of Religion*, 1894, p. 75.

² *Theological Propædæutic*, p. 318.

us face to face with the divine oracles in all their original power and freshness." But while deeply needed, biblical theology was impossible until modern times. The way for it must be prepared. A development of biblical theology in the fourth or fourteenth century would be well nigh as inexplicable as the development in either of those centuries of the doctrine of evolution. It would have been a birth out of due season, doomed to a brief and barren career.

For glance but a moment at the character of biblical study in the early and the mediæval church. The exegesis of the illustrious and good men who expounded and defended the Word of God from the second to the fifth centuries with the partial exception of Theodore of Mopsuestia¹ and other members of the school of Antioch, had two characteristics which were radically bad. First, it assumed or claimed that the Bible and even the Septuagint translation, was verbally inspired, and second, it explained, or vainly tried to explain, all Scripture allegorically. It is not necessary to ask in this place whether the idea of verbal inspiration was derived chiefly from Philo and Plato, or was an inference from certain utterances of the Bible concerning itself. It was at any rate the dominant belief, and seriously interfered with the interpretation of Scripture. For it was a corollary of this belief that all parts of the Bible were equally authoritative and every particular supernaturally perfect. There could be no contradictions, no errors, no deficiencies and no development. The human element was not only reduced to a minimum, but that minimum was dehumanized, for there was denied to the biblical authors the natural activity of their faculties in the production of their writings, and by some of the Fathers even self-consciousness was denied to them in the reception of divine teaching. Under the reign of such a conviction it was impossible to have sound principles of interpretation.

This leads us to the second feature of biblical exegesis in the early church, its allegorical method. Here and there a writer saw the evil of this way, but it was practically triumphant. Hatch,*

¹ Died in 428 A.D.

* *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, 1892.

Sanday,² Farrar³ and others tell us that it was borrowed from the Greek habit of interpreting Homer allegorically. We see the method applied already by Philo, who wished to harmonize Moses with Plato, and according to Sanday³ it appeared full-blown among Christians as early as Heracleon, 170 A.D. This method was adopted by Christian scholars in part at least because it afforded a convenient way of elevating the Old Testament to the ethical level of the New, which was required both by their theory of inspiration, and as it seemed to them by the very defense of the Old Testament itself, against the charges of gnostics and heathens. Marcion, for example, had declared that there was an irreconcilable conflict between the Old Testament and the New, that the God of the Old Testament was the demiurge, not the good God of the New Testament, and the Fathers saw no method of refuting such charges against the Old Testament except by allegorical interpretation. So this method was dominant in the early Church. Origen developed it, and his canon⁴ that all Scripture has three senses, which correspond to man's body, soul and spirit, became classical and continued in force for centuries.

Appropriately enough, this canon, as far as any Scripture basis was claimed for it, was founded on a misunderstood verse in Proverbs,⁵ which verse, even if it had been rightly understood by Origen, furnished no ground whatever for applying the method to other Scriptures than the Proverbs.

This theory of a threefold meaning subjected the Bible to the caprice of the interpreter. If the literal meaning did not suit, he could turn to the psychical, and if this in turn was unsatisfactory, he could take refuge in the spiritual. By one or the other he was able to make the Scripture agree wholly with his own view.

The results of such exegesis ill accord with the view that the Bible was verbally dictated by the Lord. The following are fair

² *Expositor*, XI., 352.

³ *History of Interpretation*, 1886, p. 134.

³ *Inspiration*, 1893.

⁴ *De Principiis*, IV. I. ii.

⁵ Proverbs 22 : 20.

illustrations of this exegesis: John tells us that the water-jars in Cana held two or three firkins apiece. This intimates, according to Origen, that some of the Jews were purified by *two* firkins, *i. e.*, the psychical and spiritual sense of Scripture, while others were purified by *three* firkins, *i. e.*, the psychical, the spiritual, and the corporeal sense of Scripture. Tertullian says that the *horns* of the wild ox mentioned in Deut. 33:17 refer to the extremities of the cross.

According to Clement the clean beasts which divide the hoof and chew the cud are the orthodox believers, since chewing the cud means thought, and the divided hoof means stability. On the other hand, those animals which divide the hoof but do not chew the cud are the heretics. The same writer regarded Lot's wife as an allegory to *salt* those who have a spiritual understanding. Such interpretations might be cited by the hour from the Alexandrian writers and also from those of the West, where even the sober Jerome indulges in fantastic allegorical explanations. But while exegesis rested thus on "a foundation of sand" there could of course be no biblical theology.

As we pass from the early to the papal church, and follow the course of history from one century to another, we find a perpetuation of the bad characteristics of early interpretation. The few who had access to Scripture, and who studied it, did so after the manner of the Fathers. There was little acquaintance anywhere with the original languages of the Bible, and little appreciation of the value of such knowledge. The writings of the Fathers and the lives of the saints gradually eclipsed the Word of God. Whatever original study there was followed the allegorizing method of early writers. No commentator rose to the level of Origen and Jerome during the next thousand years, and no one improved on Origen's method of interpretation. In support of doctrine, appeal was taken, not to Scripture, but to the church, and the leaders of the church went back as a rule only to the Fathers. Thus the theology of Isidore of Seville¹ and John of Damascus, and then, after a long and barren period,

¹ Fisher, *History of the Christian Church*, p. 161.

the theology of the early schoolmen, like Peter Lombard, was nothing more than a patchwork from the teaching of the Fathers.

And thus through the mediæval period, as there was no historical exegesis, there could be no biblical theology. The ground was not yet prepared.

What, now, we ask, *was* the preparation for biblical theology? Dr. Schaff has said¹ that biblical theology is a child of German rationalism, though it must not be inferred from this remark that he would thereby cast any reproach upon the study, for he esteemed it most highly. We may call it a child of German rationalism if we mean by this simply that the first men to cultivate it were rationalistic Christians of Germany. But in a far more important sense it was the child of the Humanists and the Reformers. The men who revived the study of Hebrew and Greek, and the men who, whether in a friendly or hostile spirit, turned from the current teaching of the church to the teaching of God's Word—these made the essential preparation for biblical theology. Reuchlin's Hebrew grammar of 1506, which he could truthfully call *Exegi monumentum ære perennius*, and Erasmus' Greek New Testament of 1516 inaugurated a new era in the history of the Bible; and although there remained a stupendous work to be done before biblical theology would be possible, the critical historical study which they began involved the germ of that theology.

The Reformers made the work of the Humanists widely influential. Melancthon expounded the Greek New Testament, and Luther, though he did not claim to be a master of Hebrew and Greek,² translated the Bible out of the original tongues.

The biblical study of the Reformers, as compared with that of the preceding ages deserves to be called critical. They held that the Scriptures should be heard irrespective of ecclesiastical doctrine; that "the Scriptures should not be interpreted by the creeds, but the creeds by the Scriptures." They threw off the incubus of the allegorical method, and began to read the Word of God in a rational manner. They affirmed the right of private

¹ *Theological Propædæutic*, p. 320.

² See Schaff, *History*, vi. 138.

judgment. The rules of interpretation which Luther laid down,¹ though he did not always adhere to them himself, furnished a vastly better foundation than had hitherto been known. This is especially true of the first two of his rules. The first was the necessity of grammatical knowledge. In this he was at one with other Reformers. Melancthon said that to be ignorant of grammar is to be ignorant of theology. This rule of Luther concerning the necessity of grammatical knowledge was in strong contrast with what Origen had said: "Let every one who cares for truth be little concerned about words and language, seeing that in every nation there prevails a different usage of speech."² More dangerous advice than that could scarcely be given. Luther's second rule was to know the times, circumstances and conditions in which the different books of the Bible arose. Here was the recognition of the historical principle which had been thus far practically unknown. The observance and development of this was destined to revolutionize biblical study.

As a part of this historical view of Scripture by the Reformers the human element began to be recognized, and the idea of verbal dictation was rejected. "Luther did not regard divine revelation as a mechanical communication of supernatural knowledge, but as a spiritual development through life." Holding this view of inspiration, he weighed the separate books of Scripture and tested them all by Christ. He admitted the existence of chronological and historical errors and contradictions of an incidental sort.

Germane to this theory of inspiration was the distinction which began to be made by Luther and others between the Scriptures and the Word of God. Thus Luther says in his table-talk: "In the Bible thou findest the swaddling clothes and the manger whither the angels directed the simple shepherds; they seem poor and mean, but dear and precious is the treasure that lies therein." "The Scriptures, said Sebastian Franck, are only the shell and surrounding of the Word of God, which is the kernel, sword, light, sanctuary, spirit and life, fulness and reality."

¹ See Farrar, *History of Interpretation*, p. 332.

² *De Principiis*, IV. I. 27.

These various principles were shared by all the Reformers with more or less of modification. They made a scientific study of the Bible possible, and so made biblical theology possible.

But though the time seemed ripe for the beginning of biblical theology, and was indeed ripe, two centuries passed before a beginning was finally made. The movement of the Reformers was soon paralyzed on its biblical side. Doctrinal discussion carried on in the spirit and with the apparatus of scholasticism absorbed the attention of theologians.

When a reaction from this formal confessionism appeared in the rationalism of the eighteenth century, then biblical theology began to be cultivated. But the *name* "Biblical Theology," which can be traced back at least to Haymann, whose book was published in 1745,¹ was applied at first to mere popular explanation of the proof-texts in use in theology. As Beyschlag says,² it was used to designate biblical-dogmatics in contrast to the scholastic. "Friends of the orthodox doctrine felt that its scholastic form was inadequate and obsolete, and they accordingly sought to revive the doctrines out of the Bible which had been pushed quite into the background." Yet these writers did not deal with the Bible as a whole, but only with the usual proof-texts of dogmatics, the *dicta probantia*. So A. F. Büsching published in 1758 a book entitled "Thoughts regarding the character of Biblical-dogmatic Theology and its superiority to Scholastic Theology." C. T. Zachariä published in 1772 a four-volume work under the name *Biblical Theology, or an Investigation of the Biblical Basis of the Principal Theological Teachings*. Of the same general character was the elaborate book of C. J. Ammon which appeared in 1792. In his introduction he defines biblical theology as *the accurate knowledge of the pure contents of those Scripture passages out of which are derived the doctrines of biblical dogmatics*. Thus he treats only what he calls *the dogmatic parts* of the Old and New Testaments. He bestows much attention on the separation of that which was for the time of the respective author and that which had abiding value.

¹ So F. Delitzsch in unpublished lectures on O. T. theology.

² *Neutestamentliche Theologie*, I. 12.

Other writers of the eighteenth century, as Lorenz Bauer, and Hufnagel, understood biblical theology in this same sense. But all these works, judged by the standard of our century, were not biblical theology save in name. They were only "a popular tabulated dogmatics." They were a protest against the teaching of the church, and were of value in that they insisted on the necessity of a fresh searching of the Scripture.

But while there was no work on biblical theology, properly so called, produced in the eighteenth century, a step forward was taken and the line of demarcation between biblical and systematic theology was at length clearly drawn by J. P. Gabler of Altdorf.¹ He maintained that biblical theology is purely *historical* in character, and thus he elevated it to the rank of an independent department. In a qualified sense, Gabler may be regarded as the father of biblical theology. It is a child of the Reformation in spirit; a child of Gabler in form.

But this conception of biblical theology which was set forth by Gabler was only very gradually realized. The most important work in this department in the first quarter of our century was that of de Wette,² but his *Biblical dogmatic of the Old and New Testaments* was more philosophical than historical. Furthermore, he includes much which does not properly belong to biblical theology, as biblical history, the teaching of the Apocrypha, the rabbis, Philo and Josephus. Neither does he carry very far the principle of Gabler to distinguish the stages of development and the personal types of doctrine.

The work of von Cölln, published in 1836, marks an advance upon De Wette in one particular at least; it seeks to present the teaching of Scripture from the point of view of the respective authors.³ It is thus more truly historical than de Wette's.

Reuss' *History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age* (1852) and F. C. Baur's *Lectures on New Testament Theology* (1864) were the next important works. But Reuss' work, like de Wette's, includes a great deal which does not belong to biblical theology,

¹ *De justo discrimine theologiae biblicae et dogmaticae*, etc., 1789.

² *Biblische Dogmatik Alten und Neuen Testaments*, 1813.

³ See Schenkel in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1852.

as the teaching of Clement and Barnabas, and the history of the various religious movements of the Jews. The teaching of Jesus and his apostles is obscured by the mass of extraneous material. Baur held the principle of Gabler, but his work is marred by the critical opinions which he held regarding the origin of the New Testament writings, and by his failure to gain the point of view of the respective authors.

THE BURNING OF JEREMIAH'S ROLL.

By THE REV. EDWARD B. POLLARD,
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Judah's dark period of social and religious life—Josiah's good efforts in vain—Jehoiakim's wickedness—The two forces in the struggle between righteousness and evil—Jeremiah and his enemies—The king's evil plan—Baruch, the faithful scribe, reads the scroll—The king reading it throws it into the fire—His speedy punishment.

DAYS of tragedy were now on. Israel had passed away under the rod of Assyria's power B. C. 722, and Judah was nearing its crisis. Good and bad in national life were about to grapple as if in final combat. Judah was a "sick man" in the East. Violence and oppression were rampant. Covetousness and luxury had sown germs of rapid and irremediable decay. Jerusalem had been "filled with innocent blood." Profanity, adultery, and sodomy cursed the land. Debauched princes, false prophets and renegade priests were leading the people to ruin. Formal religion as an antidote for evil had proved a crying failure. Wizards and familiar spirits, resort to teraphim and idol-worship were doing their worst, but not saving. The cruel reign of Moloch, with his victims passing through the fire, could not arrest impending doom. Incense was "burned unto Baal, the sun and to the moon, and to the planets, and to all the hosts of heaven." It was a dark period of social and religious life in Judah. Since the days of good king Hezekiah, the kings and people had gone almost steadily downward. Manasseh, Hezekiah's son, had begun at once to undo the good his father had done, and to fill Jerusalem with his abominations. Amon was no better; for "he walked in the way his father had walked in." Will there be any hope from the youthful Josiah, Amon's son? With youthful vigor, the boy-king begins to "purge Judah and Jerusalem from the high places and the Asherah and the graven images and molten images." It looks as if there might now be a respite

in the impending doom, and that Judah would be checked in the rapid progress toward decay. The temple is repaired, and the law of Moses, long forgotten if ever learned, is brought to light. Mosaism is revived in the land.

Yet with all his zeal for Jehovah, Josiah had not been able to undo what the evil influence of Manasseh had done (2 Kings 23:26). For some unknown reason, possibly from loyalty to the king of Assyria, Josiah throws himself into the breach between Pharaoh-Necho of Egypt and the Assyrians. Necho was on his way to Carchemish to meet Nebuchadrezzar when the fate of western Asia was to hang in the balances only to fall against Egypt. Josiah met Necho at Megiddo, and Judah's reform king was slain. His reforms are thus to be but a brief reviving before the end. The good people of the land might have had reason to expect good things of Shallum, Josiah's son (Jer. 22:1-12), but three months put an end to his unimproved opportunities. Pharaoh-Necho, by a piece of strategy, imprisons him, and Jehoiakim, another of Josiah's sons is placed on the throne. Speaking of the loss of the last two kings, the prophet cries out: "Weep not for the dead (Josiah), neither bemoan him; but weep sore for him that goeth away; for he shall return no more, nor see his native country. For thus saith Jehovah touching Shallum, He shall not return thither any more." But let his successor beware (Jer. 22:10-13 f.)!

It is now that the most violent struggle between righteousness and evil is about to be waged. Two forces are heroically and violently at work. The one is represented by a great-hearted, God-fearing priest, who against his protest had been drawn by divine power into the prophetic office; the other, by the new king Jehoiakim, the reckless, self-willed, luxury-loving monarch.

Look for a moment at the personal embodiments of these two forces. Jeremiah, "the man that Jehovah foundeth," known and called before he was moulded in the belly (Jer. 1:5), had commenced his life-work from the thirteenth year of Josiah. For three and twenty years now (25:3) he had spoken boldly the word of the Lord, "rising up early and speaking." Jehoiakim had scarcely been seated upon the throne (605 B. C.) when the faithful prophet-

priest makes an effort to guide his steps in the way of righteousness and to hold back the people from their headlong obduracy. "In the beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim son of Josiah, came this word from the Lord, saying thus saith the Lord : Stand in the court of the Lord's house and speak unto all the cities of Judah, which come to worship in the Lord's house, all the words that I command thee to speak unto them ; keep not back a word. It may be they will hearken and turn every man from his evil way ; that I may repent me of the evil which I purpose to do unto them because of the evil of their doings" (26:1 ff.). The words were spoken to a crowd in the temple. The people indignantly resent them ! Mob violence right in the temple court seemed imminent. "Why hast thou prophesied in the name of Jehovah, saying, This house shall be like Shiloh, and this city shall be desolate, without inhabitant ?" "Thou shalt surely die." They lay hands on him, and drag him before the princes "at the entry of the new gate." They accuse him of blasphemy against temple and holy city. The prophet speaks quietly and unperturbed, "The Lord sent me to prophesy against this house and against this city all the words that ye have heard. Therefore now mend your ways and your doings and obey the voice of the Lord your God ; and the Lord will repent him of the evil that he hath pronounced against you. But as for me behold I am in your hand : do with me as is good and right in your eyes. Only know ye for certain if you put me to death, ye shall bring innocent blood upon yourselves and upon this city and upon the inhabitants thereof : for know of a truth the Lord hath sent me unto you to speak all these words in your ears" (26:12-15). The stroke was masterly, and the effect magical. "This man is not worthy of death," said the princes and the people to the accusing priests and prophets. The fickle mob that had just said "this man is worthy of death," is suddenly turned about. There are present elders who call to mind the fact that in the century before, a prophet, Micah the Morashtite, had made a prophecy similar to that made by this Jeremiah, and that the then reigning king proceeded to seek Jehovah's favor and not the blood of the prophet ! Wherefore Jehovah's wrath had been

stayed. The prophet's life seems for a time secure, through the added influence of his valiant and learned friend, Ahikam (26:24).

The truce is short-lived. Jeremiah does not for a moment weaken. As he has risen up early to deliver his God-given message, he determines to sit up late, if perchance the king and people may hearken and live. He does not forbear even under direct persecution. The people of his own native Anathoth had conspired to put him to death (Jer. 11:21f.); and ever since his life had been "a life-long martyrdom." The prophet was without honor both at home and abroad. The naturally timid and tearful prophet had become a thunderer, and his words "like a hammer that breaketh the rock in pieces" (23:29). O Jeremiah, how canst thou be so bold? Remember thou dost not speak now in the days of Josiah. Jehoiakim is king. Dost thou not remember that but lately Uriah ben Shemaiah, of Kiriath-jearim spoke just as thou art now speaking, and the king's wrath was so enkindled that he followed the fleeing prophet even to the land of Egypt, and fetched him and slew him, and cast his body in the potter's field (26:20 ff.)? Rememberest not thou the fate of thy brother, O prophet-priest of Anathoth? Nay, even as Judah's sin was written with pen of iron with point of diamond (17:1), so was Jeremiah's face to be like flint and his words like hammers.

The prophet begins to realize more and more that the battle that he fights is already lost, yet with an heroic faith in Jehovah—all the sublimer because he sees he is waging a battle for a forlorn hope—he presses on against the forces arrayed against his message, with the king himself as the heart of the opposition.

The grasping king does not escape the forceful invective of the man of God: "Woe unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness and his chambers by injustice; that useth his neighbor's services without wages and giveth him not his hire; that saith I will build me a wide house and spacious chambers, and cutteth him out windows; and it is ceiled with cedar and painted with vermilion" (22:13 f.). "Thine eyes and thine heart are not but for thy covetousness, and for to shed innocent blood and for oppression and for violence." Therefore thus

saith the Lord concerning Jehoiakim son of Josiah, King of Judah: They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah my brother! or, Ah sister! They shall not lament for him, saying, Ah Lord! or, Ah his glory! He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem" (22:17 f.).

The king does not face Jeremiah, but one Pashur, son of Immer, chief officer of the temple, filled with wrath, smites Jeremiah and puts him in the stocks. Yet does not the prophet relent or hold back, but still more clearly points to a Babylonish captivity which awaits the headstrong nation (20:1-6). Even now danger is impending. Invasion of Babylonians and their emissaries is certain. Already they are moving along the borders. Drought, distress, and consternation are on every hand. A fast is declared, and public worship at the temple. A new plan is now suggested to the mind of the prophet. The people shall have another chance. They will not obey the oral entreaties nor the thunderings of the prophet. "Take thee a roll of a book and write therein all the words that I have spoken unto thee against Israel and against Judah. Let them be *written down*, that the people may hear them, and that it may be known in coming years that Jehovah's words do surely come to pass!" Jeremiah calls Baruch ben Neriah, his faithful scribe, and dictates the words of Jehovah concerning the people. "And Jeremiah commanded Baruch saying, I am detained, I cannot go into the house of the Lord. Therefore go and read in the roll which thou hast written from my mouth, the words of the Lord in the ears of the people in the Lord's house upon the fast day" (36:1 ff.). Baruch takes his stand at the new gate and obeys the "shut-up" prophet. The words of the roll make an impression. One Micaiah goes and reports to the princes what he had heard from Baruch's scroll. Jehudi is commissioned by the princes to wait on Baruch and get him to bring his roll down to them that they may hear its purport. Baruch obeys the summons and gives the reading to the luxurious princes. They turn pale with fear, and threaten Baruch with the king's vengeance. Though sending him speedily away, they keep the roll and report to the king. Jehoiakim at once demands to see the roll. Jehudi

is sent to the house of Elishama, the scribe, to fetch it from the place where they had stored it. The king sits nervous and irate, in his winter house. It is December, and the chilly dampness of the winter cold bites without. Within, the royal chamber is warmed by the open fire-pan, before which the king and his courtiers sit. Jehudi returns with the roll. He opens it and begins to read. One column—and the king sees his picture! Two columns—the king hears his sins and the impending doom! Three, four columns—and the haughty monarch can stand it no longer, "What? The king of Babylon shall come and destroy this land? Never' (36:29)! He rises up in a fit of rage, he snatches the scroll from Jehudi's hand, and with his penknife begins to cut it into fragments. In vain do three of his officers try to pacify him, and dissuade him from his ruthlessness. Blind with rage, he will not hear. A triumphant toss, and into the brasier go the curling fragments! As they burn, the fire in the king's bosom is even yet not quenched. He dispatches, posthaste, three officers to arrest the prophet and the scribe whose mouth and hand had wrought the hated roll to vex him. But Jehovah hid them.

Had Jehovah first made mad him whom he would destroy? The burned roll is restored (36:28) "and many like words besides." But what of Jehoiakim? "And concerning Jehoiakim, king of Judah, thou shalt say, Thus saith Jehovah, Thou hast burned this roll saying, What hast thou written therein saying the king of Babylon shall certainly come and destroy this land, and shall cause to cease from thence man and beast? Therefore thus saith Jehovah concerning Jehoiakim king of Judah; He shall have none to sit upon the throne of David: and his dead body shall be cast out in the day to the heat, and in the night to the frost. And I will punish him and his seed and his servants for their iniquity; and I will bring upon them and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem and upon the men of Judah all the evil that I have pronounced against them, but they hearkened not."

Less than a half dozen years, and Jehoiakim is no more. He had proudly striven for power and pelf, storing up riches not his own, warming his own nest while he disregarded the pleadings

of the prophet, and the threatenings of Providence along his borders. "As the partridge that sitteth on eggs which she hath not laid, so is he that getteth riches and not by right; in the midst of the years he shall leave them, and at the end he shall be a fool" (17:11). Jehoiakim "sleeps with his fathers." A few short years shall pass and Jehoiachin, his son, and Zedekiah his brother, will make vain attempts to preserve the life of Judah; but devastation at the hands of Babylon comes. The words of the scroll are fulfilled; and the land is left desolate, for weary years to enjoy her sabbaths.

WHAT HIGHER CRITICISM IS NOT.

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Higher criticism not destructive rationalism—As old as Christianity, and practised in modern times by scholars of all schools—Its province is to find truth, not to destroy it—Its problems not to be settled by authority, or by epithets—The date and authorship of Isaiah, chaps. 40–66, as an illustration—The name of the science may be changed; the work will go on.

THE simple purpose of this article is to affirm that "higher criticism," properly so called in distinction from "lower criticism," is not destructive rationalism. This kind of criticism is as old as Christianity. Its aim is to ascertain the truth, the whole truth so far as it may be known, and nothing but the truth, concerning the dates, authorship, and contents of the several books of the Bible. Whether the Pentateuch be the work of a single author, or a compilation of many documents; whether or no Zechariah, chs. 9–14, be from a hand different from that which wrote Zechariah, chs. 1–8; whether the Epistle to the Hebrews be a work of Paul or Apollos, or Barnabas, or Luke; the advocates of the various hypotheses are all alike "higher critics." Eusebius tells us that many in his day had questioned the authorship of Hebrews, and James, and Second Peter, and Jude, and the Revelation of John. Porphyry assailed the genuineness of Daniel, and Jerome defended it, and both of them in that particular discussion were higher critics. So, too, in modern times Neander and Hengstenberg distinguished themselves in higher criticism as truly as did Strauss and Ewald. The fact that these critics arrived at different results ought not to lay the word "criticism" under ban.

The results of criticism, as well as its methods of procedure, are matters of personal opinion. When a writer gives us a fair statement of his reasons for adopting a certain hypothesis, we are bound in all honor to treat him respectfully. We may differ

from him at many points, and reach a very opposite conclusion. We may discover in his method of argument that which is one-sided and misleading. It is the province of higher criticism to detect fallacies, to point out errors, to correct mistakes; not to tear down and destroy the truth.

It seems to be the infirmity and misfortune of some minds to suppose that the questions of biblical criticism can be settled by authority. Others are given to using opprobrious epithets against those who see good reason to depart from traditional views of the date and authorship of some portions of the Bible. To deny the Davidic authorship of certain Psalms has been pronounced revolutionary. We write in protest of this kind of dogmatism, and maintain that, while some critics have reached results which we regret, higher criticism is not necessarily destructive criticism.

In illustration of our meaning we glance briefly at the old question of the date and authorship of Isaiah, chs. 40-66. How these chapters came to be attached to the book of Isaiah, no man may now be able to explain. But does it therefore necessarily follow that they must be the work of the son of Amoz? It is conceivable that in the arrangement of the Old Testament canon after the exile, there may have been at first five books of Isaiah (*e. g.*, Isa. chs. 1-12, 13-23, 24-35, 36-39 and 40-66), as well as five books of Moses, and five books of David (the Psalms). And while this is only a conjecture, it may suggest how a compilation might have come to bear the name of one great person without being his sole composition.

But the thoughtful reader finds three classes of passages in this "Later Isaiah" which are difficult to adjust to the view that they were written by Isaiah, the son of Amoz:

1. In Isa. 43:14; 46:1; 47:1-7; 48:14-20, Babylon is mentioned in a manner very unnatural for a writer living more than a hundred years before the Babylonian exile.

2. Isa. 42:22-25; 44:26-28; 52:2-11; 63:18; 64:9-11, naturally imply that, at the time of the writer, the Jewish people were in exile, Judah was a desolation, and Jerusalem and the temple were in ruins.

There are other passages which mention or refer to Cyrus as a well-known conqueror. In 41:2, 25; 45:13; 46:11 he is referred to as one so well known as not to need naming in order to be recognized; and in 44:28 and 45:1-4 he is explicitly named and titled.

These three classes of passages resolve themselves into one united testimony to show that the date of the writing is the latter part of the period of Babylonian exile. Had these twenty-six chapters appeared as a separate book, without name or title, no critic would seriously have thought of ascribing it to a writer living in the Assyrian period, and in the days of Isaiah. The desolation of Judah and Jerusalem is not predicted as something yet to be, but assumed as already existing. The mention of Cyrus by name, and the manner in which he is repeatedly referred to, would be very unnatural in a prophet writing more than a century before that conquerer appeared. He is first referred to without mention of his name (41:2, 25), and is throughout spoken of as one who had already taken his place upon the stage of action. He is marching on to conquest, as a chosen vessel of Jehovah. "I have called thee by thy name: I have surnamed thee, though thou hast not known me" (45:4). That is, Jehovah had called him by his name Cyrus, as in 44:28, and entitled him his "shepherd," and his "anointed." Cyrus did not know or worship Jehovah, but he was employed as his agent to say of Jerusalem "Thou shalt be built; and to the temple, Thy foundation shall be laid."

Whether one be convinced by these considerations that the "Later Isaiah" belongs to the time of exile or not, any fair-minded critic must see and feel the force of the argument for that date, built upon the passages referred to. But I have read one or two discussions of this subject by writers who confound higher criticism with destructive rationalism, and instead of finding the issue squarely met, I observed that they passed over all these passages in a flippant manner, and then presumed to prove the author of Isaiah 62:4 to be contemporary with King Hezekiah because of his use of the word *Hephzibah*, which was the name of Hezekiah's wife (2 Kings 21:1)! A reader of the

Hebrew text would wonder why the symbolical name *Hephzibah* should prove more on this subject than *Azubah*, and *Shemamah*, and *Beulah*, which occur in the same verse!

It is possible that the misuse and abuse of the term "higher criticism" may lead to the adoption of another word as a substitute for it. Some writers of distinction are already employing such phrases as "biblical criticism," and "historical research." But whatever may become of the name "higher criticism," its age-long work will go right on. Its mission is not to destroy, but to fulfil. Its only aim is to put all things to the test, and hold fast that which is good.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE QURAN.

By DR. GUSTAV WEIL.

Translated from the second edition, with notes and references to the Quran and to other authorities, by Professor Frank K. Sanders, Ph.D., and Harry W. Dunning, B.A., of Yale University.

For the convenience of the student a list of the more accessible works on the history and characteristic elements of Islam is given below :

1. Müller, August. *Der Islam im Morgen- und Abendland*, 2 vols. 1887.
2. Muir, Sir Wm. *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline and Fall*, 1891. An excellent and vivid summary of the facts set forth more in detail in his *Annals of the Early Caliphate* and in Weil's *Geschichte der Chalifen*.
3. Guyard, Professor Stanislas. Article in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XVI., pp. 565-597 on the "Eastern Caliphate."

Either of these works will give a correct and fairly complete idea of the historical development of Islam as a political force.

4. Dozy, R. *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme*, 1879. One of the best sketches of the sects of Islam, as well as of its development in the far East.
5. Von Kremer, A. *Geschichte des herrschenden Ideen d. Islam*. Another book of first importance to the student of the inner development of Islam.
6. Müller, August. Article in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXII., p. 659 ff. on "Sunnites and Shiites."
7. Sale, George. Section VIII. in the Preliminary Discourse found in his *Koran* gives a detailed account of the sects of Islam, while section IV. discusses the doctrines and precepts of the Quran.
8. Palmer, E. H. The introduction to his translation of the Quran, pp. lxxv-lxxvi gives many minor details.
9. Hughes, Rev. T. P. *A Dictionary of Islam*. This volume contains carefully written articles on any of the details mentioned above.
10. Smith, R. B. *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, 1875. A vigorous setting forth of the best that can be said for Islam.
11. De Tassy, Garcin. *L'Islamisme d'après le Coran l'enseignement doctrinal et la pratique*. Paris, 1874.
12. Goldziher, Ignaz. *Muhammedanische Studien*, Vol. II. 1890, makes a study of the *Hadith* or the theologico-historical traditions as sources of reliable information.

ISLAM.

I. *Preliminary considerations.*—We pass on now from the history of the development of the Quran and its analysis to its inner character and consider it more with reference to its permanent value and in its entirety as a book of religion and law. We begin with its doctrine, not intending to describe it as a theological system, nor wishing to enter into the subtleties of the later schoolmen ; partly because this would lead us beyond the proper limits of an introduction and especially because in the case of a child of nature, like Muhammad, in whom surely no trace of schooling or speculative learning is to be found, one cannot expect a systematic setting forth of ideas. This is most plainly shown by the fact that the most important dogmas of Islam on account of their indefiniteness, as we shall soon see, like those of Christianity, became the occasion of the most violent disputing and later even of the most sanguinary wars and persecutions, a state of affairs far more surprising among the disciples of Muhammad than among those of Christ. Christianity is in itself far richer in doctrine than Islam and dogmas such as that of the trinity, the miraculous conception of Christ and his resurrection, of the sacraments, and of the Church give more material for differing opinions than those of Islam, which recognizes but one God, sees only a prophet in Muhammad, and knows absolutely nothing of priesthood even though later Imâms^{*} for political reasons wished to elevate themselves to the position of high priests. Besides not only were the essential features of Christianity more apt to occasion dissensions, but the way in which it was transmitted to posterity favored sectarianism more than Islam. Christ himself delivered his teachings orally and as opportunity offered, generally with no inter-connection. His words were committed to writing long after his death, translated into foreign tongues and mixed with subjective views so that the original sources of Christianity, already differing in so many

^{*} The title "Imâm" belonged at first to the leader of the daily public prayer in the mosque. This function was regularly performed by the early Caliphs, so that they are often called Imâms. Later the temporal and spiritual authority came to be exercised by different persons.

ways, must have contained the germ of different religious ideas. On the contrary, Muhammad caused at any rate the greater part of the Quran to be written down and the rest was put in writing within two years after his death and in the Arabic language, his native tongue, which was and remained that of his people. Nevertheless Islam was divided into several sects during the first centuries of the Hijra, while religious wars, as bloody as those of Christendom, convulsed the Muslim world. Only because Muhammad himself had not the remotest idea of establishing a definite dogmatic structure was it possible, later on, when a more powerful impulse to learning than was the case with himself sprang up among his adherents, for a conflict about many of his teachings to arise. In fact Muhammad required of his adherents only a belief in a single, eternal, omnipresent, invisible, all-powerful, all-knowing, all-wise, just, satisfying, and merciful God, creator and preserver of the universe; further, a belief in Muhammad and the prophets before him as bearers of the divine revelations which were to preserve men from error and lead them to salvation, in angels as the instruments of his will, and finally in the resurrection of the dead and in a future life in which the righteous would be rewarded for their deeds and sinners punished. But simple as these three fundamental teachings of Islam, God, revelation, and judgment, are by themselves, they became the object of strife among the Muslims, even before they became intimately acquainted with Greek philosophy, as soon as the desire arose of giving this doctrine a speculative form which was entirely foreign to Muhammad himself, who usually spoke only according to the momentary pressure of his feelings. There is a considerable laxity in the Quran, especially in the method of its compilation, on account of which the true connection of two consecutive verses or their time and the cause of their revelation cannot be determined with certainty. This, in addition to the metaphorical expressions and the many apparent or real contradictions, naturally afforded to an infinite variety of sectaries a wide battlefield, which broadened as philosophic study spread among the Arabs. Every acquisition in this domain was to be treated as theology and justified from the sacred writings. But

before passing on to the divisions in Islam, caused by the war of reason (or rationalism) with faith, or by the desire to bring religion and philosophy into unison, it is necessary to mention an earlier, far deeper division which deals more with political differences.

II. *The election of the first three Caliphs.*—Muhammad closed his earthly career without having made the slightest reference to his succession. We not only find no passage in the Quran which deals with the condition of the kingdom after his death, but we have no authentic oral tradition, as proven by the diligent search of each party for proofs of their right to the Caliphate. Either Muhammad especially avoided speaking of his mortality, and the passages which proclaim him mortal have been interpolated by Abu Bakr, or he did not dare by preference of one party to embroil it with the other. In fact, he had not only to choose between Abu Bakr and Ali and disappoint in their hopes either his beloved daughter Fatima or his intriguing wife Ayisha, but he had also to choose between the people of Mecca, who had emigrated with him, and the people of Medina, to whose protection and aid he owed the extension of his power. Moreover it is possible that he did not feel justified in establishing an hereditary monarchy in a country where the republican form of government had always prevailed, and therefore kept silent, hoping that the worthiest of his companions would construct for himself the way to rulership. However that may be, it is entirely impossible to ascribe, as European scholars often do, the hereditary monarchy or the absolute despotism of the Muslim empires to Muhammad himself or to the religion founded by him. Muhammad himself wished above all things to be regarded as a prophet, not as a temporal ruler. When at the conquest of Mecca he passed by Abu Sofian in the midst of his allies and followers, that person said to Abbas, "By God, the kingdom of your nephew is great." Abbas replied, "He is a great prophet." And when Muhammad proclaimed himself the last of the prophets he could not have been thinking of spiritual power by divine right after him. This is indeed shown by Abu Bakr's own behavior at his election, for he laid stress

upon the superior claims of the refugees and did not assert his own rights; indeed he nominated Umar and Abu Ubaida for Caliphs; and even if this nomination was not in earnest because he foresaw that neither would accept the rulership during his life, yet it proves, at any rate, that the chief men of the nation and not the right of birth decided the succession. And was not the Quran, which was certainly to stand superior to the ruler, a powerful bar against despotism? As a lawgiver a Muslim prince could have no power, for the Quran was to be the everlasting law of the Muslims, and certainly was amply sufficient in the early times of Islam. But in the Quran not only the lives of believers but also their property was secured. The former can only be taken for murder, and of the latter only the legal tax can be exacted. The duties of the head of the state, according to the ideas of the Quran, consisted entirely in watching over the keeping of the law, in maintaining the army and in its use to strengthen and spread the faith. To make Muhammad responsible for the form of government which his successors introduced or for the horrible deeds of individual Muslim rulers is as unfair as to ascribe the despotism of many Christian countries to the gospel. Just as among Christians an attempt is often made to support hereditary and absolute power by the Scriptures, so very soon in Islam the temporal power received a religious sanction and the teaching of the Imâms formed a supplement to that of the church. The first three Caliphs considered themselves the worldly rather than spiritual successors of Muhammad and founded their right upon the choice or at least the consent of the Muslims; but the adherents of Ali and his family, even in the time of Uthman,² and especially during the wars with Muawiya, founded their claims upon a formal hereditary right. The Imâms soon came to be regarded as men especially enlightened by God, and in course of time were even honored and prayed to as an incarnation of the deity. Imâms not acknowledged by the people and government continued to be an object of honor and hope to their party even after their death, because of the belief in their future return to reestablish right and truth,

²That is, within a quarter of a century after the death of Muhammad.

just as Christians believe in a millennium under the rulership of a returned Redeemer.

III. *Sects which originated in disputes concerning the succession.*—

The party which we shall designate by the general term Shiites, regardless of the peculiarities of the various sects into which they are divided, considered the first three Caliphs as usurpers and held the most extravagant views about the dignity and sanctity of the Imâm. Other Muslims, who are known by the term Sunnites,¹ acknowledge these Caliphs as lawful rulers and consider as usurpers the later ones who belonged to the family of Muhammad, even though they were not descended from his daughter, the wife of Ali. Others again, even in the time of Ali, saw in the Caliphate only a mere political institution, which had as its primary basis the prosperity of the people. Therefore they taught that the Imâmate in itself was not at all sacred and that every upright man, bond or free, of any family whatsoever, could be elevated to it; and that if the Imâm or the Caliph should prove unworthy of his sacred office, it was permissible and even obligatory to depose him and fight against him. Those who held this view, which was of course vigorously opposed by non-Shiite authorities, were called Khârijites. It found many adherents among the most learned men of the first century of the Hijra and satisfactorily proves that the sacred writings of the Muslims do not countenance the later development of the Caliphate. It is noteworthy that in course of time this opinion became an article of faith: and that its adherents were condemned and punished as heretics; although, according to an old and authentic tradition, even Abu Bakr, in his first address in the mosque at Medina at his accession to the Caliphate, said: "O ye people! ye have chosen me as your chief, although I am not the best man among you. If I do right, do not refuse me your coöperation; if I act unjustly, oppose me. . . . Obey me as long as I obey God and his apostle. But if I act contrary to the commands of God and his apostle, then renounce your allegiance to me." Muhammad is consequently

¹ The Shiites and Sunnites are as definitely separated in ideas as Catholics and Protestants.

answerable for all the evils which arose from the conflicting teachings concerning the Imâmate and Caliphate only so far as he maintained a complete silence concerning the government of the kingdom after his death; for, strictly speaking, as the last man inspired by God he could have no successor, and if, as a learned orientalist thinks, he is to be commended for not deciding in favor of this or that favorite, still, in order to avoid all future contests, he should have more definitely determined the character of the temporal power and have established some general enactment about the succession; or, if he wished to allow a free choice to the people, he should certainly have revealed some law of election. A civil war almost broke out in Medina immediately after his death. A quarter of a century later two parties, the partisans of Ali and those of Uthman and his relatives, resorted to arms. Bloody wars followed, which occasioned greater and deeper dissensions among the believers than those existing among the different tribes in heathen times. This conflict between Shiites and Sunnites stretches out like a red thread through the whole history of the Caliphs and is carried on even now between the Sultan of Turkey and the Shah of Persia, sometimes with arms and sometimes with diplomatic notes and theological publications, although the latter is not a descendant of Ali and the former¹ is not even a member of Muhammad's race.

IV. *Various doctrines—fatalism.*—The doctrine of fatalism, as set forth by many orthodox Muslims and by all enemies to Islam, is absolutely destructive to human freedom of will. But it is more a product of politics than of faith. In the Quran it is used more to overcome timidity, to strengthen faith and submission to the will of God, to comfort in misfortune and to preserve moderation in success than to injure human activity or

¹ The Sultan of Turkey rests his claims to the spiritual and political power of the Caliphs upon the cession of his own rights to Sultan Selim I. by Mutawakkil, the last nominal Caliph, about 1520. The last real Caliph perished at the capture of Bagdad by the Tartars in A. H. 656 (1258 A. D.). Mutawakkil, though the last of a dynasty that nominally ruled in Egypt for several centuries, had no legal, moral or actual authority. The ruling dynasty in Persia has even less basis for its assertion of legitimacy.

to take away moral freedom. Rashness is expressly forbidden in the Quran by the words, "do not cast yourselves into danger."¹ Carefulness is often recommended, and even prayer, the most important ordinance of Islam, suffers a modification if the worshiper endangers his life by its strict performance;² and, although it is often repeated that God gives sustenance to men according to his will, this nowhere means that a Muslim is to lazily place his hands in his lap. But on the contrary it is even permitted on the holy day, Friday, after prayer, to return to work.³ Moreover, only a short passage from the Quran is to be read "because many are obliged to travel through the country to seek a living."⁴ Sundry other places in which an indifference to virtue is emphasized can only be understood as saying that man is not to be wholly absorbed in care for his sustenance and consequently to subordinate to it higher duties, the striving to please God by practicing virtue, as the apostle Peter writes, "Cast all your care upon him, for he careth for you."⁵

V. *Predestination*.—As to the dogma of absolute predestination of men to happiness or misery, the religious system of Muhammad is not only entirely built upon fear and hope, for he continually exhorts to faith and pious deeds for the sake of reward in Paradise and warns from unbelief and sin by reason of punishment in Hell, therefore, of necessity, making the future fate of man dependent on his own will, but various passages in the Quran most decidedly oppose such an Augustinian type of predestination. But since it was taken up by the orthodox Imâms and is constantly by European writers ascribed to the founder of Islam and made a ground of reproach against him it is necessary at this point to go more into detail and to present more proofs of Muhammad's doctrine of free-will than would otherwise be required. Neither here nor in other dogmatic controversies can we take into account the oral traditions because of their untrustworthiness. All that a sober critic can obtain from them with satisfaction is represented by the statement of one of them which

¹ Sura 2:191.

⁴ Sura 73:20 (the long verse).

² Sura 2:239, 240; 4:102-104.

⁵ 1 Peter 5:7.

³ Sura 62:10.

makes Muhammad announce that Islam would separate into seventy-three sects, among whom those who recognized the freedom of the will were designated as the magi of Islam. Therefore we venture to quote the Quran on this matter: "Say" (God addresses Muhammad), "O ye people, there has come to you the truth from your Lord and he who is guided, his guidance is only for his soul, and he who errs errs only against it. And I am not a guardian over you."¹ "He who accepts guidance accepts it only for his own soul and he who errs errs only against it. Nor shall one burdened soul bear the burden of another nor would we punish until we had sent an apostle."² "Whoso is desirous of his life we hasten on for him therein what we please for whom we please: then we will make hell for him to broil in, despised and outcast. But whoso desires the next life and strives for it and is a believer, these their striving shall be gratefully received."³ "But say: the truth is from your Lord, so let him who will believe and let him who will disbelieve; verily we have prepared for the evil-doers a fire."⁴ "Naught prevented men from believing when the guidance came to them or from asking pardon of their Lord, except the coming on them of the course of those of yore or the coming of the torment before their eyes,"⁵ and "Follow the best that has been sent down to you from your Lord before there come on you the torment suddenly, ere ye can perceive. Lest the soul should say, 'O my sighing! for what I have neglected toward! for verily I was amongst those who did jest!' Or lest it should say, 'If God had but guided me, I should surely have been of those who fear.' Or lest it should say, when it sees the torment, 'Had I another turn I should be of those who do well. Yea! there came to thee my signs and thou didst call them lies, and wert too big with pride and wert of those who

¹ Sura 10:108. Compare also Sura 27:94, where Muhammad says at the end "I am only of those who warn."

² Sura 17:16. Compare also Sura 39:42.

³ Sura 17:19, 20.

⁴ Sura 18:28.

⁵ Sura 18:53, *i. e.*, they clung to ancestral beliefs and waited until punishment should reach them. Compare also 7:27 and 67:25.

misbelieved."¹ "And as for (the tribe of) Thamûd, we guided them (by the prophet Salih), but they preferred blindness to guidance and the thunder-clap of the torment of abasement caught them for what they had earned, but we saved those who believed and who did fear."²

These verses, to which many more might be added, prove satisfactorily that Muhammad not only did not hold to a consistent doctrine of predestination, as developed in Christianity by Lucius and Gottschalk, and in Islam by the Jabarites and some other sects, but on the other hand that he was very much nearer the Pelagian system than even the more liberal Augustinian. Moreover, how could it be otherwise, for he did not regard the fall of man as did Augustine and the Christian church, and denied the doctrine of hereditary sin, which is the only thing that can reconcile unconditioned predestination with divine justice and holiness. It is true that, according to the teaching of the Quran, the first human pair were by reason of their disobedience driven out of the heavenly paradise on earth, and also that, since the first sin arose from the victory of selfishness over the will of God, mutual hatred and discord were predicted to the human race; but the Quran knows absolutely nothing of the condition of inward corruption transmitting itself to posterity in consequence of the sin of Adam, and protests in many places against the idea of responsibility for the sins of others. Muhammad also knows no other divine grace than revelation through prophets, partly to perfect human knowledge of good and evil, partly to assist against the wiles of Satan over to whom man is entirely delivered by his sinfulness, or has actually still more exposed himself. Adam repented of his sin and God pardoned them both again, saying: "Go down therefrom (Paradise) altogether and haply there may come from me a guidance and whoso follows my guidance, no fear is there nor shall they grieve; but those who misbelieve and call our signs lies they are the fellows of the fire: they shall dwell therein forever."³ Every prophet from Adam to Muhammad is accordingly a savior sent

¹ Sura 39: 56-60.

² Sura 41: 16, 17.

³ Sura 2: 36, 37. Compare also Sura 7: 18-24; 38: 71-85; 20: 115-124.

from God; but in order to be saved, that is, to attain to true insight, to higher knowledge, and so once more to the happiness of Paradise, belief in revelation and action in accordance therewith are necessary. Both these things depend solely on the human will. The divine will does not, according to the teaching of the Quran, remain entirely inactive in the case of the individual, but shows itself continually according to the inner character of the man, as mercy or justice. In fact Muhammad also admits what Pelagius conceded to Augustine, that God strengthens in the faith a man who has a will inclined to good, while he abandons to his ever-growing conception the man in whom the inclination to evil has the mastery, and thus in a way he may be said to harden him. So it is, of course, left to the inscrutable decision of the divine wisdom to determine at what time and what people he will favor with his guidance. This concession of reason to faith, which indeed cannot be questioned in both the Old and New Testament,¹ but not an unconditioned predestination, shows itself in the following verse: "There has come to you from God light and a perspicuous book. God guides thereby those who follow his pleasure to the way of peace and brings them out of the darkness to the light according to his will, and leads them on the right way."² "Those who misbelieve say: 'Unless a sign is sent down upon him from his Lord.' Say! the Lord leads whom he will astray and guides unto him those who turn again, those who believe, and whose hearts are comforted by the mention of God: aye! by the mention of God shall their hearts be comforted who believe and do what is right."³ "Those who believe not in God's signs God will not guide them and for them is grievous woe. Because they preferred the love of this world's life to the next, but God guides not the unbelieving people; these are they on whose hearts and hearing and eyesight God has set a stamp and these they are the careless."⁴ "God answers those who believe with sure word (the Quran) in this world and

¹ Compare Romans 1:28; 9:18; 11:7, 8. Exod. 4:21; Joshua 11:20.

² Sura 5:18.

³ Sura 13:27-29.

⁴ Sura 16:106, 109, 110.

the next; but God leads the wrongdoers astray, for God does what he will."¹ "Some of them there are who listen to thee, until when they go forth from thee they say (mockingly) to those who have been given the knowledge: 'What is this which he says now?' These are those on whose hearts God has set a stamp and who follow their lusts; but those who are guided (by Muhammad) he guides them the more and gives them the due of their piety."² "We have sent in every nation an apostle (to say), 'Serve ye God and avoid Tāghūt' and amongst them are some whom God has guided and amongst them are some for whom error is due: Go ye about then on the earth and behold how was the end of those who called (God's apostles) liars. If thou (Muhammad) art ever so eager for their guidance, verily God guides not those who go astray—nor have they any helpers."³

These quotations show most decidedly that in matters of faith and righteousness man is no blind instrument of divine caprice, but on the contrary that it rests with him to believe the truth and to desire the good and that God supports those inclining towards right and truth, while he delivers over to their destruction those who shut their hearts to his grace as shown in revelation. The oft-recurring phrase in the Quran, "God guides whom he will and leaves in error whom he will,"⁴ which, to be sure, when removed from its context, might lead to the doctrine of Augustine, when read in accordance therewith, which indeed, as has been often said, cannot always be surely determined, must either be referred in general to the sending of a guiding prophet or to the divine care for the propagation of the faith. This aid is identical with the desire of God to support righteousness, while compulsion of the indifferent to belief by an especial interference is contrary to divine justice and therefore cannot lie in his will. Verse 209 of Sura 2 clearly favors this opinion, for immediately after the words, "God sent prophets with good

¹ Sura 14:32.

² Sura 47:18, 19. Compare also Sura 18:55.

³ Sura 16:38, 39.

⁴ Compare Romans 9:18.

tidings and with warnings . . . and guided the believers thereby," we read, "God guides whom he will on the straight path." So also verse 19 of Sura 39, which says, "Then give glad tidings to my servants who listen to the word (the revelation) and follow the best thereof. They it is whom God guides and they it is who are endowed with wills; but him against whom the word of torment is due, canst thou rescue him from the fire?" . So it must be plain to every unprejudiced reader of the Quran that Muhammad by no means denied the freedom of the human will.

Aids to Bible Readers.*

THE BOOK OF ACTS.

By ERNEST D. BURTON.
The University of Chicago.

A unique book—Evidence of authorship—Purpose and method; various views; view suggested by the Gospel—Analysis.

THE book of Acts is the one narrative book of the New Testament which treats of the history of the apostolic age. While for the evangelic period of New Testament history, the Life of Christ, we have four narratives, for the apostolic period we have but one, the book of Acts. The twenty-one epistles of the New Testament, contain indeed most valuable information concerning the apostolic age, and even the gospels and the Revelation, by the reflection which they give of the time in which they were written, add something to our knowledge of this earliest period of the history of the Christian church. Yet the book of Acts stands alone as the only book that gives a connected narrative of its events.

This book is, like all the gospels, unlike most of the epistles, anonymous. No author's name stands on its title page or is signed to its preface. The writer does, however, describe himself as the author of another work, a book concerning the deeds and teachings of Jesus, and there is no doubt that the book thus referred to is our Third Gospel.

The use of the pronoun *we* in portions of the latter part of Acts (see 16:10-18; 20:5-16; 21:1-18; 27:1-28:16) constitutes an unobtrusive but real claim that these portions at least were written by a traveling companion of Paul. Tradition, undisputed in ancient times, and so uniform as to be almost as valuable as a name on a title-page, affirms that this companion of Paul was Luke, undoubtedly referring to the one mentioned in Col. 4:14, and ascribes to him the whole of both books, the Gospel and the Acts.

*Under this head will be published from month to month articles intended to furnish help in the intelligent *reading* of the books of the Bible *as books*. They will aim to present not so much fresh results of critical investigation as well established and generally recognized conclusions.

What the plan of the book of Acts is, and on what principle of selection the author included or excluded material, has been much discussed. It is evident that the book does not give a complete or even a symmetrical account of the events that made up the history of the apostolic church. Nor is it a history of the apostles. Most of the apostles appear only in the list of names in 1:13, and several men who are not apostles are somewhat prominent. But neither is it a history of any one or two apostles. The last part of the book, from chapter 13 on, is indeed devoted to the labors of Paul and his companions, while Peter is specially prominent in the first twelve chapters. But Peter is not the only person whose deeds are related in these earlier chapters, nor do all the others whose deeds are told appear as his companions or helpers. Stephen and Philip and Saul himself are brought prominently forward, though they stand in no special relation to Peter. The progress of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome has been suggested as the theme of the book, and there is truth in this suggestion. For the book certainly conveys the impression that the author conceived the events which he narrated as exhibiting that outward movement of the gospel from Jerusalem as a center, that development of its power and expansion of its territory, by which the Christianity that sprung from a narrow and exclusive Judaism demonstrated its fitness and its power to become the religion of the world. Yet not even this conception of his plan will quite account for all the material which the author has included. This may have been the idea which impelled him to write, but if so it was not altogether dominant in determining the selection of his material.

In the preface to his Gospel (Luke 1:1-4) the author says that he wrote after careful investigation, and with the purpose of furnishing his readers a wholly trustworthy account of the gospel history, an historical basis for faith. He implies that he was not himself an eyewitness of the events which he narrates, but that he based his work upon the testimony of those who were such. Is it not natural to suppose that the general purpose and general method of the second volume were the same as those of the first? As there his object was to furnish a foundation for faith by giving a trustworthy account of the life of Christ, so here it is to confirm faith by showing the progress and triumphs of the gospel as under the guidance and inspiration of the Holy Spirit the apostles and their associates preached in land after land. As there he employed the testimony of eyewitnesses, so here also; only that here, as appears from the "we-passages," of an impor-

tant portion of the events which he has to relate, he is himself the eyewitness.

The character of the book is, to say the least, consistent with this view of its purpose and method. It is natural to think that a book so admirably adapted to supplement the evangelic narrative, and to confirm the faith of its readers in the gospel as the divine message to all nations, was written for the purpose of producing this result. And as respects the principle of selection followed by the author, the view here presented that he employed such testimony of eyewitnesses as was accessible to him, including, of course, his own direct knowledge, is certainly favored by one noteworthy fact. If from the book itself we make a list of the places which, by the unobtrusive use of the pronoun *we*, the writer implies that he had visited with Paul, it will appear that for each event related by him of which he was not himself an eyewitness it is possible to point to a particular occasion on which he either visited the place where the event is said to have occurred (and hence may easily have come in contact with those who could give first-hand testimony) or met the persons of whom the events are narrated.

If this *prima facie* view of the purpose of the book and its principle of selection is the true one, we may undertake the reading of the book as being the narrative of a man who was a companion of Paul on a portion of his missionary journeys, and who, having witnessed many events connected with the establishment and extension of the Christian church in the apostolic age, and having in the course of his travels had opportunity to learn of many other events from those who themselves participated in them or knew of them at first hand, undertook to write, in chronological order as far as he was able, the most interesting and important of the things which he had witnessed or learned, and which tended to show that the gospel was adapted and destined to become — was, indeed, already becoming — the religion for all nations.

The following analysis is intended as an aid in the reading of the book, and of the study of it as a book.

ANALYSIS.

- I. PART FIRST. THE EARLY ANNALS OF THE CHURCH IN JERUSALEM, AND THE BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY IN SYRIA. Jerusalem is throughout this period the center of interest and influence. The Church is almost wholly confined within the limits of Judaism. Only the beginnings of larger things as

yet appear, and no organized effort to reach the Gentiles is recorded. The work of various persons is described, the apostle Peter being the most prominent. The writer does not represent himself as an eyewitness of any of the events of this part of the book. Chaps. 1-12.

A. THE EARLY DAYS OF THE CHURCH IN JERUSALEM. Chaps. 1-7.

1. Waiting for the coming of the Spirit. Chap. 1.
 - a. The promise of the Spirit and the ascension of Jesus. 1:1-14.
 - b. The choosing of Matthias. 1:15-26.
2. The great day of Pentecost. Chap. 2.
 - a. The coming of the Spirit, and the gift of tongues. 2:1-13.
 - b. Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost. 2:14-36.
 - c. The conversion of the three thousand. 2:37-42.
 - d. The church in peace and favor. 2:43-47.
3. The growth of the church in Jerusalem in numbers and strength Chaps. 3-5.
 - a. The healing of the lame man by Peter and John. 3:1-10.
 - b. Peter's sermon in Solomon's porch. 3:11-26.
 - c. The first imprisonment of Peter and John. 4:1-31.
 - d. The unity of the church and the community of goods. 4:32-37.
 - e. Ananias and Sapphira. 5:1-11.
 - f. Signs and wonders wrought by the apostle. 5:12-16.
 - g. The second imprisonment of the apostle. 5:17-42.
4. The choosing of the seven and the martyrdom of Stephen. 6:1-8:1a.
 - a. The choosing of the seven to serve tables. 6:1-7.
 - b. The trial and death of Stephen the martyr. 6:8-8:1a.

B. THE CHURCH SCATTERED ABROAD AND PREACHING THE WORD. This is a transition period; the church scattered by persecution carries the gospel where it goes; and other providential circumstances prepare the way for a larger work. Chaps. 8-12.

1. The church scattered by persecution. 8:1b-3.
2. The work of Philip the evangelist. 8:4-40.
 - a. The preaching of the gospel in the city of Samaria. 8:4-25.
 - b. Philip and the Ethiopian treasurer. 8:26-40.
3. The early Christian life of Saul. 9:1-31.
 - a. His conversion. 9:1-19a.
 - b. Preaching in Damascus. 9:19b-25.
 - c. His first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion. 9:26-31.
4. Peter in Lydda, Joppa, and Cæsarea. 9:32-11:18.
 - a. The healing of Æneas. 9:32-35.
 - b. The raising of Dorcas to life. 9:36-43.

- c.* Peter's visit to Cornelius. Chap. 10.
- d.* Peter's defense of his action in respect to Cornelius. 11:1-18.
- 5. The early days of the church in Antioch and contemporary events in Jerusalem. 11:19-12:25.
 - a.* The beginning of the gospel in Antioch. 11:19-26.
 - b.* Relief sent from Antioch to Jerusalem by the hand of Barnabas and Saul. 11:27-30.
 - c.* Persecution of the church in Jerusalem by Herod. 12:1-24.
 - d.* Return of Barnabas and Saul to Antioch. 12:25.

II. PART SECOND. THE MISSIONARY LABORS OF PAUL AND HIS COMPANIONS. This second part of the book is more homogeneous than the first. It deals almost exclusively with the work of Paul and his companions in preaching the gospel in gentile lands. The gospel is no longer confined within Jewish bounds, but is preached to all nations. The events are connected together in a continuous narrative, and the writer relates in considerable part things of which he was an eyewitness.

- 1. Paul's first missionary journey. Chaps. 13, 14.
 - a.* Barnabas and Saul sent forth. 13:1-3.
 - b.* Preaching the word at Salamis and Paphos. 13:4-12.
 - c.* At Pisidian Antioch. 13:13-52.
 - d.* At Iconium. 14:1-7.
 - e.* At Lystra and Derbe, and the return to Antioch in Syria. 14:8-28.
- 2. Paul's second sojourn at Antioch and the council at Jerusalem. 15:1-35.
 - a.* The council at Jerusalem. 15:1-29.
 - b.* Report of the council's action to the church at Antioch. 15:30-36.
- 3. Paul's second missionary journey. 15:36-18:22
 - a.* The dissension between Paul and Barnabas, and the revisiting of the churches in Syria and Cilicia. 15:36-41.
 - b.* The churches in southern Asia Minor revisited. 16:1-5.
 - c.* The journey to Troas and the vision of Paul. 16:6-10.
 - d.* The beginning of the Gospel in Philippi. 16:11-40.
 - e.* Paul and Silas at Thessalonica. 17:1-9.
 - f.* Paul and Silas at Beroëa. 17:10-17.
 - g.* Paul at Athens. 17:18-34.
 - h.* Paul's ministry of eighteen months at Corinth. 18:1-17.
 - i.* Paul's return to Syria, and third sojourn at Antioch. 18:18-22.
- 4. Paul's third missionary journey. 18:23-21:16.
 - a.* Paul again visits the churches in the Galatian region and Phrygia. 18:23.
 - b.* Apollos in Ephesus and Corinth. 18:24-28.

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| <i>c.</i> Paul's three years' ministry in Ephesus. | Chap. 19. |
| <i>d.</i> From Ephesus to Macedonia and Greece. | 20: 1, 2. |
| <i>e.</i> From Greece to Jerusalem. | 20: 4—21: 16. |
| 5. Paul's last visit to Jerusalem. | 21: 17—23: 35. |
| <i>a.</i> Paul's reception by the church in Jerusalem. | 21: 17—26. |
| <i>b.</i> His arrest in Jerusalem. | 21: 27—36. |
| <i>c.</i> His address to the people in the Hebrew language. | 21: 37—22: 29. |
| <i>d.</i> His address before the council. | 22: 30—23: 11. |
| <i>e.</i> The plot of the Jews against him and his removal to Cæsarea. | 23: 12—35. |
| 6. Paul's two years' imprisonment in Cæsarea. | Chaps. 24—26. |
| <i>a.</i> Paul's examination before Felix. | 24: 1—23. |
| <i>b.</i> Before Felix and Drusilla. | 24: 24—27. |
| <i>c.</i> His examination before Festus, and appeal to Cæsar. | 25: 1—12. |
| <i>d.</i> Before Agrippa and Bernice. | 25: 13—26: 32. |
| 7. The voyage to Rome. | 27: 1—28: 15. |
| <i>a.</i> From Cæsarea to Fair Havens. | 27: 1—8. |
| <i>b.</i> The storm and the shipwreck. | 27: 9—44. |
| <i>c.</i> On the island of Melita. | 28: 1—10. |
| <i>d.</i> From Melita to Rome. | 28: 11—15. |
| 8. Paul's two years' imprisonment in Rome. | 28: 16—28. |

Comparative-Religion Notes.

NOTES ON CURRENT ANTHROPOLOGICAL LITERATURE. SECOND SERIES.

By FREDERICK STARR,
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It is purposed in these notes to call attention from time to time to the most important current literature upon anthropological subjects, especially that which bears upon the study of religion. Much of this literature is published where it is not accessible to the general reader, and it will be the especial aim of these summaries to render that material available. The first series, published in the January 1895 number, included articles and books appearing within the six months, July to December, 1894; this series embraces those from January to June, 1895.

Two important papers appear in a recent government publication (*Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, 1889-1890*, Washington, 1894). "A Study of Siouan Cults," by J. Owen Dorsey, presents a valuable summary of present knowledge in regard to the religious ideas of an important group of tribes. The information concerning the Omahas, Ponkas and their nearest kin is mainly original; that relative to the Mandans, Winnebagoes, Iowas, Otoes, Sioux proper and their near relatives is compiled from various authors. Dorsey claims that the conception of "the great spirit" commonly attributed to Indians is not found among the Siouan peoples; nor is that other idea, "the happy hunting ground." Mysterious powers, however, there are in multitude, in earth and air, water and fire. To them prayers are made, gifts given, and tribute rendered. Communion with them may be sought and one to whom revelation has been made gains spirit power. Such form societies and hold prescribed ceremonial meetings. The various spirit powers, the modes of worship, mortuary customs, ideas regarding the dead and the hereafter are given in detail. The sacred numbers, the practices relating to the cardinal points, the symbolism of colors are all considered. Some form of the "Sun Dance," with its terrible fastings and self-torture, appears to have existed among all Siouan tribes. Dorsey brings together a number of descriptions of these, and adds a curious one, written by a Sioux Indian named Bushotter, illustrated by drawings by its author. The studied avoidance of reference to Catlin's description of the Mandan Sun Dance strikes an "outsider" as rather childish.—— Mrs. Matilda

Coxe Stevenson, in the same report, presents an article upon "The Sia." Although generally descriptive of this people, the article is more than half devoted to religious matters. Attractively written, it is one of our best studies among the Pueblos. Sia is one of the smallest and poorest of the New Mexican pueblos. Its population speaks a Queres tongue, and is thus related to the people at Cochiti, San Felipe, Santa Domingo, Acoma, Laguna, etc. In this little town, among a poverty-stricken handful of people, Lieutenant Stevenson and his wife began study some years ago; Mrs. Stevenson has continued this after her husband's death. The study has been unusually successful. In her paper we have the curious cosmological stories, much information regarding the religious societies, and good description of some of the ceremonials. The illustrations are, many of them, of a remarkable character, and include the sand paintings, the altar arrangements, participants in costume, and some interesting views taken by flash-light in the midst of the ceremonials in the sacred rooms or *estufas*.—In this connection must be mentioned J. Walter Fewkes' "Comparison of Sia and Tusayan Snake Ceremonials" (*American Anthropologist*, April). The Sia material is drawn from Mrs. Stevenson, the Tusayan from his own writings. The ceremonials are compared, stage by stage. While regretting the lack of information on some points, the author concludes that the ceremonials are parts of related rituals, showing contact and strongly cementing the now widely separated and linguistically dissimilar eastern and western groups of pueblos.

Stephen D. Peet, in several articles, refers to a number of matters in North American Indians' religion. In "The Worship of the Rain God" (*American Antiquarian*, December 1894), he treats of symbolism among southwestern tribes. He studies the cult to "see how many methods of expressing the desire for rain were invented, and to notice the manner in which the rain was personified and symbolized, and how elaborate the ceremonies were which embodied this personification."—In "The Serpent a Symbol of the Rain Cloud" (*Ibid.*, December 1894) he brings together many statements relative to the Pueblo, Navajo, Nahuatl and Maya serpent symbol. He concludes "that the snake was not only a water divinity, but among many of the advanced tribes he was regarded as an anthropomorphic divinity, which personified the rain."—In "Anthropomorphic Divinities" (*Ibid.*, March 1895) he notices the tendency to anthropomorphize the objects of worship. Often, plainly, an animal, a plant, or some lifeless thing, it becomes personified. The deified mountain becomes a human being, the rainbow in the Navajo sand paintings is supplied with head and limbs. The author considers this tendency "a positive aid to devotion, for it enabled the people to conceive of God as a personal being, and to represent him not only as a national deity, but as one who ruled all nations and peoples."—Two articles in the *American Antiquarian*, March 1895, deal with American cosmogonies. In "The Hidery (*sic*) Story of Creation" James Deans gives the story of *Nekilstlas*, the raven, which has been given quite as well elsewhere. A. F.

Chamberlain gives some new material from the Kootenay. A desirable work now is the publication, in some easily accessible form, of a good summary of the mythological material of the whole northwest coast, from Eskimo-land to the state of Washington. A great mass has appeared, but it is scattered and in inaccessible journals and reports, in various languages.

J. Walter Fewkes continues his notes descriptive of Moki Indian ceremonial in "The Tusayan New Fire Ceremony" (*Proc. Boston Soc. Nat. Hist.*, Vol. XXVI.). This takes place annually in the late fall; the two celebrations observed both began on November 13. The ceremonial appears to have reference to germination, and in it prayer is made for fertility in fields, in animals and in human beings. The desire for rain is present, of course, and finds expression in request and in symbolic action. Tusayan ritual and mythology are composite; families and clans from different peoples and places have come together in these Arizona pueblos, and have mingled ideas and religions. This shows itself in many ways; thus—a number of earth goddesses appear to be recognized in Moki mythology. To some of these, in this ritual, prayer is made. Of the various features in the ceremonial, the fire-making on the first day, the sacrifices then made to the fire, the curious phallic survivals and drenchings of the celebrants with water and other liquids on the third and fourth days, and the casting of the embers of the sacred fire over the cliff on the fifth—last ceremonial day—are, perhaps, the most interesting. "The Walpi Flute Observance" (*Journal of American Folk-lore*, October-December 1894). It will be remembered that this ceremony alternates with the Snake Dance, thus occurring once in two years. Dr. Fewkes considers the ceremony an unusually good case of ritualistic dramatization. The description is minutely detailed.

No one interested in the native religions of North America can afford to pass by Dr. D. G. Brinton's little "Primer of Mayan Hieroglyphs" (Ginn & Co., Boston, 1895, 8vo, pp. 152). The few codices of the Mayas, which still exist, are largely composed of representations of deities or ceremonials. The graphic system is chiefly a picture-writing, but it also contains many phonetic elements. These are mostly in that transition stage between ideograms and phonograms which Dr. Brinton has called "*ikonomatic*," or rebus-writing. In his discussion our author recognizes three kinds of characters—mathematical, pictorial, truly graphic. These are separately considered. We still need to learn much before the Maya writings shall be completely understood; but in this Primer we have brought together the present real acquisition from the works of students throughout the world.—— In "Analysis of the Pictorial Text inscribed on two Palenque Tablets" (*Proceedings American Antiquarian Society*, October 24, 1894). Philipp J. J. Valentini follows a path marked out by Charles Rau some years ago. He goes, however, much further than his predecessor. Comparing the glyphs of Palenque with the written characters in the codices he reaches a considerable number of satisfactory identifications. The author summarizes his results in a series

of propositions. Many of the characters are day symbols; these, as written characters, are *tachygraphs*, abbreviated from prototypes recognizable in the scriptures; these prototypes represent objects of ritual use; the characters which are *not* day symbols are mostly simple pictures, also of ritual objects; the method of recording, both on paper and on stone, was not alphabetic, syllabic, or intermixed, but object and picture writing. The author is simple, clear, ingenious. There can be no question that he is correct in most of his conclusions regarding the tablets studied. The codices, however, are probably much later than these tablets, and are marked, perhaps, by more suggestion of phonetic writing.

An old question is discussed in "Prehistoric Contact of Americans with Oceanic Peoples" (*American Antiquarian*, March 1895), by Cyrus Thomas. There is at present a strong tendency to deny evidence of such contact. The author notes several similarities which he believes suggest such contact. Curious likenesses exist between the calendar systems of the Malays (Javans) and the Mayas. In both special attention is paid to the four cardinal points, to each of which are assigned a deity, a color, a bird, and a definite group of five days or letters; in both the month numbers twenty days; in both a central point is recognized among the cardinal points, to which a mixed color is assigned; in both (Javan and Mexican) divisions of time are represented by serpents. Besides noticing the similarity between the calendars Thomas mentions some parallels in etymology and mythology. Thus Hindu cosmogony and Mayan cosmogony alike refer to three past and a fourth, present, great "age;" some similarity exists between Sesha, the shiny serpent, who in Hindu legend bears up Vishnu (Narayana) on a calm sea, preceding a time of creative energy, and Gugumatx, the plumed serpent, floating on the peaceful watery expanse, before a creation; the monkey, in a special relation to the wind, plays a part in both mythologies; perhaps Vishnu, in his avatar of the boar, may be comparable with the "great hog" mentioned in the *popol vuh*. These points are interesting, and deserve careful investigation rather than abrupt dismissal.

Geo. A. Dorsey (*Journal of American Folk-lore*, October-December 1894), in "A Ceremony of the Quichuas of Peru," describes a propitiatory service performed by modern Indians who were hired to make excavations of the graves of their ancestors. Invocations were made to the spirits of the dead, offerings were given, and responsibility was shifted to the employer. "Chiefs, sons of the sun, you and we are brothers, sons of the great Pachacamac. *You* only know this, but *we* know that three persons exist, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. This is the only difference between you and us." . . . "Chiefs, sons of the sun, we have not come to disturb your tranquil sleep in this your abode. We have come only because we have been compelled by our superiors; toward them may you direct your vengeance and your curses." The whole ceremony was a curious mixture of the old and the new religion.

Heli Chatelain (*Journal of American Folk-lore*, October-December 1894), "African Fetichism," combats prevalent opinion. He says: "The term fetich is employed without discrimination. It is of more frequent use in West Africa than in East Africa. On the west coast the word is applied to everything supernatural or reputed to be such, and by extension to everything connected therewith. . . . The more I ascertain and compare original facts, the more am I impressed with the fundamental unity of the religious conceptions of Chinese, Hindus, and American Indians, as well as of nominal Moslems, Jews, and Christians, with the African negro. They all have a dim notion of a Supreme Being; they all serve him far less than they serve the spirits, the mysterious forces of nature, and the souls of deceased persons, and put their trust in amulets, talismans, incantations, quacks, priests, sooth-sayers, spiritists and the thousand and one manifestations and paraphernalia of the one universal disposition of mankind known as superstition."

An important place in the ceremonials of the Indian tribes of the Southwest is occupied by curious pictures or mosaics made of sand. Different colored sands are procured by pounding up various kinds of rocks. The designs are made by qualified persons, according to a prescribed method, after preparatory purification. Colors and designs are symbolical. In making them the sand taken in the hand is allowed to run out between the thumb and forefinger along the lines to be produced. The practice of making sand mosaics is found among the various pueblo peoples and among the Navajos. In "Hindu and Parsee Sand Painting" (*The Archaeologist*, January) Fewkes calls attention to a similar usage in India. "The sand, called *ranguri*, is ground from different kinds of rock by an aboriginal people of the Deccan, called *Katores*, who bring it from the woods and peddle it from house to house, crying, '*ranguri, ranguri*' as they go through the streets. The sand is of various colors—orange, purple, red, blue, white, and black." Women are the artists and make the pictures in front of their houses on festal days. Borders, with patterns in semi-circles, crosses, birds, or human figures, are made. The pictures are said to be made to attract good spirits; it is unlucky to step on them. More elaborate designs are made before temples. Sand pictures are also made when offerings are made to guardian spirits of sacred springs or sacred trees. The offerings are left upon them. The Parsees appear to have taken the practice from the Hindu, but use in the operation a mechanical device for sifting the patterns onto the required surface. Designs are made on the thresholds, at the bed, under a cradle, daily; they are also made on festival occasions and anniversaries, and in connection with exorcism. The whole subject is curious and suggestive. Does not the practice exist among the *Katores* and other more primitive peoples of India? Sand paintings are today made as a street amusement in Japan. Regamy describes the artist at work: "Then opening bags full of sand of various colors, he takes handfuls from each in turn, sprinkling the sand upon the ground, here, there,—at random it would seem. And soon there comes to view at his feet

some beautiful princess in *chatoyant* garments, some monster in glistening and multi-colored scales, or some ingenious rebus offering to the sagacity of the arrested passers its polychromatic figures." Other writers describe the same thing. Is it not possible that in this street amusement there lingers as a survival a practice once, among the Japanese, serious and significant? It would be interesting to learn if some evidence in this direction exists.

C. M. Pleyte, in "Zur Kenntnis der religiösen Anschauungen der Bataks" (*Globus*, January 1895), interestingly describes a curious mode of divination. The Bataks of the west coast of Sumatra call it the *Parmanuhons*. It is used for the discovery of lost articles, to learn the result of disease, to discover whether a war enterprise will terminate happily. The conductor is called a *datu*; he is learned in the sorcerers' books. His outfit contains, among other things, a large and peculiar four-cornered basket, a flat tray on which is painted an eight-rayed figure symbolical of the winds of the cardinal points, a mat, a knife, and articles of adornment and of food. When the fates are to be consulted the basket is placed upon the mat; the tray with the eight-point figure is set below it; the various articles are carefully placed, in accordance with fixed rules, in the basket. Taking a live hen in his hand the *datu* repeats a long invocation in which the gods and spirits are invited to the feast spread for them; he then acquaints the fowl with the subject on which information is wanted, and cutting its neck throws it into the basket, which he immediately covers with a cloth. When fluttering ceases the position of the fowl with reference to the eight-rayed figure is carefully observed; this gives the oracle, which is read from the book or staff of divination and elucidated by the *datu*. Dr. Pleyte gives the invocation in full. It is a curious myth, explaining the origin not only of this *Parmanuhons* but also of the various sacred songs, dances and musical instruments. The chief pieces in the outfit of the *datu* are represented by wood cuts.

J. M. Campbell, in "Notes on the Spirit Basis of Belief and Custom" (*Indian Antiquary*, Bombay, Nov., Dec., 1894, Jan., Feb., March, 1895), brings together a great mass of interesting material. Our author starts by accepting Spencer's dictum that ancestor worship is the rudimentary form of religion; that the first idea of a spirit was the soul of the dead. He studies ancestor worship and claims that the ancestor becomes a guardian; the gallant dead were the guardians of the living; from faith in the family head flowed the great body of guardian spirits. One result of the guardian was to increase the power and fear of unfriendly spirits and to foster magic. One early phase of the guardian theory was the belief that there were guardian animals. These guardian animals were scarers of spirits. Plants and trees (representing ancestors) were also spirit-scarers. All guardians were to be appeased by offerings and might be pleased by blood sacrifice. Choosing of clan badges or symbols grew out of the idea that spirits lived in plants or animals. Spirits, like man, are mortal: they die and pass into powerlessness. They cause diseases. Hence the search for objects to drive them away or

to render them harmless. Such may be worn and become ornaments. Most important among articles used to ward off spirit power, or to drive away spirits are fire, water, iron, and urine. Many less important materials or objects serve similar ends. Such briefly are the author's propositions, to the support of which he brings a great array of facts from all the world. Unfortunately no authors are cited except those who write in English (and in Latin and Greek). Of the greatest value is the enormous quantity of material from the peoples of India; this has been culled from sources quite inaccessible to most readers or gathered from original sources or first-hand authority. Two or three parts of the matter appear to us of unusual interest. The reverence paid by craftsmen in India to their tools regarded as guardians is curious. Thus the mill is the guardian of the oil maker, musical instruments are worshipped as guardians by dancing girls, scales by market gardeners, and the like. Such facts are welcome suggestions to the archæologist who wonders at the representation of stone hatchets as apparent objects of worship on the monuments of Neolithic man in Europe. Mr. Campbell's study of objects that scare spirits is important. Certain things are worn to ward off spirits. Thus—garlands and necklaces of sweet basil leaves and stems were put about the head or neck, rings of grass were worn on the fingers, fresh heads of rice were placed in the ears,—all as protectors. The cow, and all pertaining to her, being sacred and spirit-scaring, ornaments were worn that were "cow-colored." Knots were spells against evil and knotted cords, necklaces, or ear-ornaments were worn. Other decorations in ivory, beads, palm leaves, were, according to Campbell, of similar origin. When metal was introduced these old ornaments were reproduced in it, but still retain in many cases their old spirit power. The author gives a long list of modern Hindu ornaments, which in name, form or present superstition illustrate his view. The whole subject appears to be original and many interesting questions suggest themselves in connection with it. Important too is the discussion of iron as a protection against spirits. The citation of facts is good but one wishes that there were more of explanation of how and why and a better arrangement of the material. The data from India, Persia and Burmah regarding the use of urine in the treatment of disease and in controlling or disarming spirits are well marshaled: those from the rest of the world are incomplete and not well put. The author apparently knows nothing of Capt. Bourke's work. These five articles are but the beginning apparently of an extensive treatise. It may be that the author after presenting his material will at the end make generalizations and work out to results. We may not agree with him in his Spencerian foundation; we must admire his diligence in bringing together data to support it; we must feel profoundly grateful for his placing at our disposition an unequalled array of facts from India.

Andre Lefevre discourses interestingly upon "Enée et Virgile" (*Revue mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris* March, 1895). How came Æneas, a man of another and a defeated people, to figure as the ancestor of

the Cæsars and the remote founder of Rome, and to be associated with a purely Italian goddess of the woods and springs? The conception of Æneas is followed from the beginning. At first he is but a "qualificative" of Aphrodite—a quality of the sun. He then naturally came to be the son of the goddess. Finally "*cet adjectif est devenu le père des Romains.*" The conception of Venus is then traced; at first a wood nymph, guardian of the springs, she becomes in time goddess of love, the universal mother. By the time the Trojan fugitive, adopted in a fashion as a semi-divine hero, needs Latin connections, she has risen to such importance that she naturally becomes his mother. Before Virgil,—Nævius, Ennius and Cato had given definiteness to the story. In his *Æneid* the great poet gathered the elements together and constructed his epic. Never was stroke made at better time. The foe of Greece, fugitive from Troy, seducer at Carthage, child of the universal mother, savior of the palladium and of the Penates—Æneas at last reached the highest point and became founder of the Julian line, the father of the Romans.

In all religions there is a constant tendency among the common people to narrate in all seriousness, with much detail, imaginary incidents and events in the life of the founder of the religion. When stories of this sort are told of Buddha or Mohammed we smile at their childish or ridiculous character. Few realize that quantities of such stories are told among peasants in many Christian lands. O. Colson (*Wallonia*, Sept., Dec., 1894), in a series of articles—"Jésus et St. Pierre," brings together a number of curious stories of Belgian peasants regarding the travels of Christ and his impetuous disciple. In these stories Peter is ever idle, discontented, a grumbler, and a liar; in most of them he is finally repentant and anxious to atone for his folly. The Lord is represented as ever kind and long suffering, often apparently deceived, but he usually, in the end, humiliates his dissatisfied and insolent follower and inculcates a moral lesson. To us almost profane, it is certain that no irreverence was intended by those among whom the stories arose. Common people everywhere need to make the being they worship very like themselves—he must live where they live, do as they might do, think and act as they think and act. Two samples will show what these curious stories are like: (a) Jesus and Peter, journeyed from Namur: the disciple was sent forward to get food. He secured a fowl dressed with onions and started with it to meet his lord. Greed got the better of him and he devoured one leg of the fowl before they met: the lord demanded an explanation. Then St. Peter, to whom "lying was a pastime," boldly declared that one-leggedness was a peculiarity of fowls of that region. Presently they passed fowls roosting with one leg drawn up, and Peter called attention to them as confirmation of what he had said. Jesus thereupon, by outcry and gestures, frightened the fowls, so that they at once set down their second legs and fled in terror. "Liar! you see the creatures are not as you stated!" "Zounds! Master! you had but to do the same to the first fowl! Perhaps its second leg had appeared also." In

this story Peter is irrepressible, but usually he is reduced. (*b*) Thus, one day as they journeyed they were approaching a desert. Jesus, seeing an old horseshoe, suggested that Peter should pick it up. It was not however worth his while, so the master himself took it. At the next village he sold it to a blacksmith and, with the few sous, bought cherries. As they journeyed then on into the desert, the heat became intense. Peter grumbled. "Happy is he," said the Lord, "who can refresh himself," and he ate a cherry. The suffering disciple was too proud to ask for a share. The master, pitying him, dropped as if by accident one of the smallest cherries; the saint, quickly stooping, picked it up and ate it. The same thing happened repeatedly. When all were gone, the Lord turning said—"See! in less than an hour you have stooped twenty times, Peter,—but *I* bent only once to pick up the horseshoe you despised. Remember that everything has a value and let this serve you as a lesson." And St. Peter, greatly ashamed, followed Jesus without a word.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE OLD TESTAMENT QUESTION IN THE EARLY CHURCH. By JAMES ORR, in *The Expositor* for May 1895. Pages 346-361.

It is always interesting to find a burning question of the present day, such as that of the higher criticism, anticipated in the early history of the church. The Old Testament problems which we are seeking to solve were discussed with intense earnestness in the times immediately following the apostolic age, when Ebionitism and Gnosticism claimed so large a place in the thought of the Christian church and compelled it to define itself in creeds and establish its authority by the decisions of councils. The problem was then mainly a theological rather than a literary or critical one, yet in some of its aspects it strongly resembled the modern treatment of the Old Testament. The aim of this article is to present such phases of the problem as appeared in that remarkable product of Essenian Ebionitism in the second century—the pseudo-Clementine writings; and in the multiform developments of Gnosticism.

Our knowledge of Essenian Ebionitism is derived chiefly from Epiphanius. It seems probable that on the destruction of Jerusalem the Essenes, who then disappear from history, in an attempt to amalgamate with Jewish Christianity went over to the Pharisaic section, retaining, however, many of their peculiar ideas and customs. Their concessions for the sake of getting a foothold in the Christian church were the substitution of baptism for circumcision and the acknowledgment of the Episcopacy and of the gentile mission, the credit for which last, however, it gives to its own apostle, Peter, while it maintains its Pharisaic hostility to Paul. The pseudo-Clementine writings, in which this movement found expression, existing in the two recensions, the *Recognitions* and the *Homilies*, presents some most interesting and curious theological ideas, chief of which is its Christology in which is found its basis for its treatment of the Old Testament. According to its conception, there is one true prophet who in different forms and under different names, as Adam, Moses, Christ, appears at intervals to restore the knowledge of the truth when lost. The True Prophet is omniscient, sinless, immortal, foreknows all things. Christianity thus loses its originality, since it is thus made to be but a republication of the one eternal law. From this it follows that in its treatment of the Old Testament it combats the Gnostic view by maintaining stoutly the identity of the God of the law with the God of the gospel; the creator of the universe and God of the Jews with the beneficent God of Christ.

But how then does it deal with the historical and moral difficulties of the Old Testament which Gnosticism had brought into such prominence and had sought to explain by making the God of the Old Testament and Creator of the universe to be another and inferior being, the demiurge, whose work partook of his own imperfections? And apart from this, if Adam, Noah, etc., were reincarnations of the one true and sinless and omniscient Prophet, how account for their shortcomings, that Adam transgressed in Eden, Noah was a drunkard, Abraham was a polygamist and Moses committed murder? And again, if, as Essenes, the writers were opposed to animal sacrifices, how did they account for the sacrificial laws in the Old Testament. These are distinct questions and each had its separate answers. In respect to sacrifices it was maintained in the *Recognitions* that the sacrificial laws were not a part of the original Mosaic system, but performed a supplementary service, especially in the law of the central sanctuary, in facilitating the transition from the grosser idolatry of the surrounding heathen peoples to a religion in which sacrifices should no longer be thought necessary. The repeated devastations of the temple were designed to teach the same thing, the transitory character of the sacrificial system. The *Homilies*, however, take stronger ground and, maintaining the absolute perfection of the True Prophet in all his manifestations, attribute the stories derogatory to the character of God or of the patriarchs and prophets and all laws of animal sacrifice to the infusion of the evil spirit of prophecy which through Eve, the embodiment of the *female* or false prophecy and mistress of this present world, entered into the canon and was permitted as a test of faith for the righteous. These defects are due in part also to textual errors resulting in the carelessness of uninspired scribes who first committed the revelations to writing long after they had been given to inspired men who committed them only to tradition. The sum of it all is that the Old Testament was tried on the ultimate standard of the teachings of Jesus Christ and found wanting.

The Clementines, however, represented but a comparatively small section of the Christianity of the time. The great heretical movement was Gnosticism, which in its numerous sects established flourishing schools, honeycombed Christianity in all directions, and by its alluring philosophic speculations drew into its circles the élite of those who sought to combine philosophical culture with Christianity. Its importance is attested by the fact that the works of many of the church fathers are wholly or in large part occupied in combating this heresy.

With Gnosticism as in the Clementines, the most important question in their speculations was the Old Testament question, and according to their attitude on this question must the many gnostic sects be classified. The most prominent feature in them all is their distinction between the demiurge—the creator of the universe and God of the Old Testament—and the Supreme God revealed in Christ. Holding this in common, they differed in varying degrees on the question whether the Old Testament was wholly bad or pos-

sessed a certain inferior value. All were agreed that the God of the Old Testament was an inferior Being, limited, passionate, vengeful. Gnosticism was an attempt to explain the universe with its defects and its contradictions, an attempt to find a philosophy of the universe, and as such, in its Basilides and Valentinus, was the prototype of the great modern movements in Germany, led by Hegel and Schelling. It is interesting to note that the two great and unsolved problems, that of the imperfections of external nature in creation and the imperfections of Revelation in the Old Testament, were by Gnosticism treated as one. Both were accounted for as the work of a Being limited in wisdom and power, if not also in benevolence, whose character varied in the different schools from that of a Being purely evil, as among the Cainites, to that of the *Archon* of Basilides, ignorant and imperfect indeed, yet unconsciously an instrument of the supreme power.

Among the gnostic teachers the one most dangerous to the Christian church, because least speculative in his views and most practical in his application of them, was the great Pontic heretic, Marcion. He differs from the other Gnostics in his keener appreciation of the grace and *newness* of the gospel, and with him the difference between the God of the gospel and that of the Old Testament is heightened by his conception of the former as pure love, incapable of the severity which characterizes the latter. His best service was in combating the excessive allegorizing of the Old Testament by which the church had been able to place it on a par with the gospel, and by insisting on taking each text literally as it stood, compelling a recognition of the defects in the Old Testament teachings.

The gain to the church from having forced upon its attention these Old Testament problems was seen in the stimulus given to theological and critical reflection resulting in the fixing of the canon and a juster conception of the Old Testament. This appears most satisfactorily in Tertullian, who, besides convicting Marcion of unfairness and contradictions in his use of the Old Testament and showing the untenableness of his theories in the light of Christ's teachings on the Old Testament, was able to bring out a more satisfactory solution of its difficulties in his conception of the unity of the Old and the New, as different stages of one organic growth of revelation. Herein is the key and the only one by which the church can yet hope to unlock the riddles of this perplexing subject.

From the fact here presented that the same Old Testament problems on which we are laboring today were so seriously discussed in the first days of the church yet without satisfactory results to the critical, or as some would prefer, the *destructive* party, the conservative of today will naturally derive satisfaction in a confirmation of his belief that his own orthodox position as to the character and origin of the Old Testament is impregnable. A view of Scripture that has withstood such violent assaults for eighteen centuries is surely the one that is to stand for all time. The critic on the other hand will see in the persistence of the Old Testament question a confirmation of his view that something

is wrong in our conception of the Old Testament and will continue to be wrong until a satisfactory solution has been found for this problem that "will not down." For him, every failure to account satisfactorily for the moral and historical imperfections of the Old Testament is a step forward since it shows us what to avoid in the future and leaves us free to press on to the true solution. Everyone today will recognize with Professor Orr that Tertullian's conception of Scripture as an organic development, "first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear," is a vast improvement over the Clementine and Gnostic solutions. But if we are to understand by his teaching of the "stages of Revelation" something like Muhammad's idea that the revelation was handed down to man a little at a time as he was prepared to profit by it, that God withheld the manifestation of himself, to be made only at intervals and in limited quantities, some will hardly accept Professor Orr's closing sentence that "The key which he here puts into the hand of the church is the only one by which it can hope even yet to unlock the riddles of this perplexing subject." Perhaps we shall do better to get a hint from the Gnostic's taking the imperfections of the Old Testament and the imperfections of nature as constituting one problem, and treat as our one problem man's slow and partial discovery of spiritual law and his equally tardy apprehension of natural law. In other words we may the rather find the true solution of the Old Testament problem in the conception that the spiritual universe like the physical lies all about us to be seen by him who opens his eyes to it and studies it, and that the Old Testament is the record of man's most successful seeking after God rather than of God's occasional manifestation of himself, a seeking in which man is *impelled* by the Divine Spirit, so that there is a divine element in the record, but not miraculously *guided* by the spirit in his search, and hence often missing the true conception of God that was afterwards revealed in Jesus Christ. Such a solution will come nearer to satisfying the human mind in an age of scientific and comparative study of nature and of religion such as is now upon us.

D. A. W.

Notes and Opinions.

A CHRONOLOGICAL DISCUSSION OF THE VIRGIN ORACLE OF ISAIAH.

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In the present state of the chronology of the eighth century B.C., it is perhaps not very safe to rest any important theory upon a date. The termini of the reigns of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz and Hezekiah are so difficult to determine that even a discussion of the possibilities is not in general very profitable. In the case of the interesting virgin prophecy of Isaiah, however, it seems possible that a natural and satisfactory interpretation is discarded, because of the universal acceptance of what is, at least, a very doubtful date. Nearly every commentator has his own theory of the meaning of the virgin and of the child. But they all come together on the one point, that the old Jewish view, which made Hezekiah the predicted child, is a chronological impossibility. Perhaps the following four views at present hold the field:

1. The virgin was Isaiah's own wife. His first wife, the mother of Shear-jashub, must have died, and the prophet must have married a maiden. She was to bear him a child, who, like all Isaiah's children, should receive a symbolic name, and stand as a sign to the people. This view is very commonly held. But its assumptions are many, and arbitrary. It is quite improper that the son of the prophet should be Immanuel, the child of promise, and evidently prince of the land (*cf.* Isa. 8:8). And when we seek the connection which should exist between Immanuel and the Wonderful Child of Isa. 9, the impossibility of this theory is manifest.

2. Nägelsbach's view, made popular through the Lange Commentary, is that the prophecy takes the form of a denunciation of an unmarried daughter of Ahaz, whose disgrace is to be a sign to the royal house. This theory seems to have little beyond its ingenuity to commend it.

3. Orelli forcibly presents the view that the child is the offspring of the church. This may answer for the larger meaning of the prophecy, but it deprives it of all local color and historical significance.

4. Somewhat akin to the preceding is the theory that the prophet has an ideal child in mind. In the passage under consideration the promised birth simply designates poetically the lapse of time before the overthrow of the Syro-Ephraimitish alliance. In the following chapter the child is before the mind of the prophet as the ideal prince of the land, who shall come after the

destruction, but who is already seen prophetically as the reigning prince. In the ninth chapter the child is actually expected as the Deliverer, and the ideal takes the form of a definite contrast with Tiglath-pileser III., giving rise to the striking expressions "Wonderful Counsellor," etc.

How colorless and far-fetched do all these theories seem in contrast with the view that Isaiah is speaking of Hezekiah. If we can waive the chronological difficulty for a moment, we are instantly struck with the appropriateness of this interpretation; and we then understand how, conformably with Messianic prophecy in general, this virgin oracle of Isaiah has its natural primary and historical meaning, and afterwards and transcendently its higher Christian and spiritual meaning.

Ahaz, let it be granted, a young prince of twenty years of age, has just taken to himself a wife. She stands beside him when he hypocritically refuses to ask Jehovah for a sign. Then the prophet speaks those words of scathing rebuke: "Hear ye now, O house of David; is it a small thing for you to weary men, that you will weary my God also? therefore the Lord himself shall give you a sign. Behold the young wife is with child, and she shall bear a son, and shall call his name Immanuel," etc. That is to say: "In thine own house, O Ahaz, shall be the sign, and before this thy son, the son of thy hopes, shall reach years of discretion, thine enemies shall be destroyed. But more than that, this son of thine shall see thine own land desolate; for the judgment of the Lord is speedy."

[I adopt here the theory that the Hebrew word *almah* may refer to a young married woman. But if an unmarried maiden must be understood, it is still equally possible that Ahaz was not yet married, but only betrothed, and the prophecy of the conception will then be future. The point is immaterial here, but the former seems to yield the more natural sense.]

Evidently there is wrapped up a promise in the prophecy, even though the sign to Ahaz is given in anger. And the promise lies in the name Immanuel (God with us). This promise has a primary fulfilment in the godly Hezekiah; and since its ultimate fulfilment is to be in the Christ, what can be more appropriate than that the typical child should be of the House of David, in the Messianic line? Then, as in Pss. 2, 45, 72, etc., we have simply a Davidite before the prophet's eyes, representing the greater son of David, who shall be the ideal "Messiah of Jehovah."

If the child of chapter seven be Hezekiah, then can we understand how the prophet, in the next chapter can declare that the destruction is coming "on thy land O Immanuel"—utterly inexplicable if Immanuel be not a prince of the royal house. And in the ninth chapter, the noble prophecy of the child who shall be the Wonder of a Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace, follows the former prophecies in natural order, and forms a legitimate climax to the idealization of the expected Redeemer.

Probably all this would be readily admitted by any biblical student. But

what need to dwell upon the appropriateness of the application of the virgin oracle to Hezekiah if that prince was already nine years old at the time of its utterance! Thus chronology bars the way to a satisfactory exegesis. It is reasonable then to examine the chronology, and see if it be so conclusive after all. There are the following chronological indications in the Second Book of Kings.

1. Ahaz succeeded in the 17th year of Pekah (16:1).
2. Ahaz was 20 years old: he reigned 16 years (16:2).
3. Hoshea succeeded in the 12th year of Ahaz (17:1).
4. Samaria taken in 9th year of Hoshea (17:6).
5. Hezekiah succeeded in the 3d year of Hoshea (18:1).
6. Hezekiah was 25 years old: he reigned 29 years (18:2).
7. The 4th year of Hezekiah was the 7th year of Hoshea (18:9).
8. The 6th year of Hezekiah was the 9th year of Hoshea (18:10).
9. Sennacherib invasion in the 14th year of Hezekiah (18:13).

However jealous we may be of the accuracy of the biblical historians, we cannot of course deny the obvious fact that there exist chronological inaccuracies, be they scribal or otherwise. In the first place then, as has often been pointed out, these dates are not self-consistent. Ahaz died at the age of 36, leaving a son of 25 years of age—a manifest impossibility. Ahaz came to the throne three years before the death of Pekah, so Hoshea must have become king of Israel in the 4th year, and not in the 12th year of Ahaz. The hypothetical eight years interregnum of the older chronologists is of course impossible in the light of the Assyrian dates. We know Pekah was slain after the fall of Damascus in 732.

Again, while all these dates seem very definite, it is certain that very few of them belong to the original chronicles of the two kingdoms; and they are, for the most part, the result of synchronistic calculations by the compiler of our book of Kings (or what amounts to the same thing the compiler of the preceding redaction of the dual histories). Thus a single error would vitiate all succeeding dates. It is manifest that the references numbered 5, 7, 8, all depend upon the two original statements that Ahaz reigned 16 years, and that Hoshea succeeded in Ahaz's 12th year. As indicated, the latter statement must be incorrect; the former may, or may not be.

Bringing these statements in Kings into comparison with the Assyrian chronology, there appear at once two fixed termini. Ahaz's tribute to Tiglath-pileser was paid in 734 B.C., and this cannot have occurred long after his accession to the throne. Sennacherib's campaign against Hezekiah was in 701 B.C. There is thus 33 years, where the biblical writer allows only 30 (Ahaz 16 and Hezekiah 14).

Many scholars would accept 715 B.C. as the year of Hezekiah's accession. And it certainly affords, on the whole, a very satisfactory solution of the difficulties. It is based on the very reliable statement of 2 Kings 18:13 (Isa. 36:1), doubtless excerpted from the royal annals. It makes the trifling cor-

rection that Ahaz reigned 19 or 20 years, instead of 16, and by scribal error Jotham's 16 years might easily have been repeated for Ahaz. It suggests a plausible explanation for the error noted in No. 3 above. Hoshea did not become king in Ahaz's 12th year, but Samaria was captured, and Hoshea's reign ended in that year. And moreover this date puts the accession of Hezekiah after the fall of Samaria, and thus explains the references of 2 Chron. 30:6, 31:1 (which must have an historical basis), where the absence of a king of Israel in the first year of Hezekiah is clearly presupposed.

There must be admitted a difficulty in No. 6. Upon the theory that Hezekiah was born in 734, he would be 20, and not 25, at his accession. But when it is remembered how easily such errors occur in the transmission of MSS., the difficulty will not seem insuperable.

Thus with regard to the nine chronological statements noted above, we have accepted the 1st, 4th and 9th. We have corrected the 3d, which is demonstrably wrong. We have eliminated the 5th, 7th and 8th, which are simply corollaries from the 3d. We have necessarily lengthened Ahaz's reign to 20 years, in order to bring its close within 14 years of the Sennacherib invasion. And the only actual hypothesis is the change of Hezekiah's age from 25 to 20. In the face of this easy escape from the chronological difficulty, why may we not assign to the virgin prophecy of Isaiah the significance, which seemed so natural, that the Jewish rabbis proposed it as a matter of course.

[The same conclusion has been reached on slightly different grounds, by Professor Charles Rufus Brown, D.D., in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1890.—ED.]

Work and Workers.

VISITORS to Scotland are often puzzled to understand the Presbyterian churches. There are three of them, very similar in doctrine, in ritual, in church government, and yet separate organizations. They are all Presbyterian, that is governed by Kirk Sessions, Presbytery, Synod and General Assembly, but each follows lines of its own, and has its own characteristics. The state church is the largest, numbering as many communicants as the other two together, and at present it may be said to be divided into three sections, the Evangelical, a large and influential party, headed by Professor Charteris; the Broad church, and a small but vigorous and increasing party of high churchmen, whose members have banded themselves together into a society called the Scottish Church Society. The Free church may be divided into two parties, the party of progress who have followed the teaching of the late Dr. Robertson Smith, of Professor A. B. Davidson of Edinburgh, Professor Dods of Edinburgh, and Professor A. B. Bruce of Glasgow; and the upholders of the old orthodoxy led by Rev. M. MacCaskill, of Dingwall, and composed mostly of Highland ministers.

The United Presbyterian church is strong in finance and in politics.

Dr. Bruce belongs to the Free church, and is one of the most scholarly men in it—and the Free church at the present time is remarkable for the learning of its ministers. It was not always so. In my own boyhood it was the church of piety rather than of learning. I used to be warned by a venerable father, noted for his piety rather than for intelligence, to "beware of rationalism." Scholarship was feared as a deadly thing. But now this has been completely changed. While the church of Scotland shortened her theological course to three years instead of four, the Free Church kept the original standard. It instituted an entrance and exit examination. It encouraged advanced study in Hebrew, and sent its students to Germany. It now has its reward in a class of ministers thoroughly grounded in sacred learning, and many of them contributors to current theology.

Dr. Bruce is a Perthshire man. He was born in the parish of Aberdalgie, near Perth, on January 30, 1831. He was educated at Edinburgh University. His first charge was at Cardron, on the beautiful estuary of the Clyde, where he remained from 1859–1868. Cardron is a small village, but in 1868 he was transferred to the town of Broughty Ferry, on the east coast of Scotland, and one of the suburbs of Dundee. He tells a story that explains the object of his life. He was celebrating his birthday, probably his fortieth, when the thought of the shortness of life impressed itself upon him. He said to himself, "I must be busy," and since that resolve was made he has been a busy man. In

1871 was published *The Training of the Twelve*, the substance of his pulpit ministrations. In 1876 he delivered the Cunningham lectures on "The Humiliation of Christ." In 1881 he published *The Chief End of Revelation*, in 1882, *The Parabolic Teaching of Christ* and *The Galilean Gospel*. His most important work, however, is probably his *Apologetics*, published in the *International Theological Library*.

His task of apologist is, as he remarks, rather a risky one, and he has not escaped censure. But the Free church, with the help of the "Highland host," expelled Professor Robertson Smith, and they are too ashamed of that act to commit a like folly in expelling Professor Bruce. Professor Smith's ideas and views are not dead, although he has joined the majority. They were not banished to England with him. The men who know the beliefs of those Professor Bruce is confuting will not think that he is surrendering the central verities of the faith. Nor will those who know the facts that biblical criticism has brought to light seek to uphold the notions of a past age that are now seen to be wrong.

Professor Bruce is a very persuasive lecturer. He has no dash or show in his method. He is modest and unassuming, but the student soon becomes aware that he is listening to a master who has carefully thought out the subject, and is familiar with the literature of all lands and of all times bearing upon it. His discourse runs on like a river, full, free, smooth, and deep. He frankly confesses that certain positions must now be abandoned, but while yielding the outworks he defends the citadel with all the greater determination.

Professor Bruce is not a stranger in America. He delivered the Ely lectures on Miracles in the Union Theological Seminary, New York, in 1886.

He lectured at both the Summer Schools of Theology in Oxford, and, with Principal Fairbairn, was one of the most popular lecturers there. His first series of lectures was afterwards published in his book as "Apologetics." His second series of lectures was repeated to ministers in Glasgow during the past winter. They will, no doubt, find a wider audience in book form at some future time.

Americans can form a good estimate of Scottish theology from the two Scotchmen who are to lecture at The University of Chicago this summer, Professor Bruce and Principal Fairbairn.

THOMAS PRYDE.

A HANDBOOK on the subject of the lectures delivered by Rev. Professor James Orr, D.D., at the Chicago Theological Seminary in April, is to appear in the *Theological Educator* series (Whittaker).

REV. W. F. OLDHAM, A.M., D.D., formerly the President of the Anglo-Indian College at Singapore, has been appointed to the lectureship on Missions and Comparative Religions at Ohio Wesleyan University.

At Wellesley College, Mary E. Woolley, M.A., of Brown University, has assumed charge of the department of Hebrew and Old Testament History;

and Professor Edward S. Drown, of the Episcopal Theological School at Cambridge, will be Non-resident Lecturer on the New Testament.

IN THE divinity school of Boston University, Dr. C. W. Rishell has been appointed to the chair of Historical Theology; Professor George H. Morris to that of Practical Theology; and Professor Henry C. Sheldon, S.T.D., who has for several years occupied the chair of Church History, has been transferred to the chair of Systematic Theology.

PROFESSOR JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, Ph.D., who lately held the chair of Semitic Languages and History at Brown University, has accepted a similar Professorship at the University of Minnesota. Dr. Charles F. Kent, Instructor in Biblical Literature at the University of Chicago, has been secured to take charge of the department of Biblical Instruction at Brown University.

THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY issued during the last fiscal year, ending May 9, a total number of 1,581,128 copies of Scripture, divided thus: 403,434 Bibles, 590,754 Testaments, and 592,582 Portions. The entire number of copies issued since the organization of the Society in 1816 amounts to 59,955,558. The translation revision work of the Society has been carried on in the Kusaie and Marshall Islands languages for the Pacific, in the Bulgarian, Kurdish, Laos and Siamese, Korean and Chinese, the last including the Union version of the Bible and several colloquials. There have also been published 1358 volumes in raised characters for the blind.

THE first volume of the *International Critical Commentary* is just out, being the commentary on Deuteronomy, by Canon S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford. The second volume, which is promised for the early autumn, is to be the commentary on Romans, by the Rev. Wm. Sanday, D.D., Professor of Exegesis at Oxford, and the Rev. A. C. Headlam, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Two other volumes are announced as in the press, that upon Judges, by the Rev. George F. Moore, D.D., Professor of Hebrew at Andover Theological Seminary, and that upon Mark, by the Rev. E. P. Gould, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis at the P. E. Divinity School, Philadelphia.

DR. BLISS, who is conducting the excavations in Jerusalem for the Palestine Exploration Society, recently made a journey to the Land of Moab, which included the examination of Medeba, Kerak and other places of historical interest beyond the Dead Sea. He carried a letter of recommendation from His Excellency Hamdy Bey, the well-known Director of the Museum of Constantinople, and was most cordially received by the Governor of Kerak. The fullest permission was given Dr. Bliss to measure and make plans of buildings, and to copy inscriptions. He returned to Jerusalem April 2, to continue the work there, and promises a fuller report of the Moabite excursion soon.

THE Northfield Conferences at Northfield, Mass., under the direction of Mr. D. L. Moody, which are now among the great religious summer schools, are this year to be three: the World's Student Conference, June 28 to July 7, at which addresses will be made by the Rev. J. Wilbur Chapman, Dr. Theodore L. Cuyler, the Rt. Rev. A. C. A. Hall, Mr. Robert E. Speer, Mr. Frank Anderson of the University of Oxford, Professor W. W. White, President Patton of Princeton, and President Stryker of Hamilton College. Between this first session and the second one, a period of two weeks, Professor W. W. White, of the Chicago Bible Institute, will give a course of lectures, and other services will be conducted. The second session is the Young Woman's College Conference, July 20-30. The speakers will be Rev. R. A. Torrey, Mr. Mr. Robert E. Speer, Rev. Floyd W. Tomkins, President Gates of Amherst College, and Bishop Hall. The third session is the General Conference of Christian Workers, August 3-15, and the speakers will be Rev. R. A. Torrey, Rev. H. W. Webb-Peploe, Rev. Dr. H. C. Mabie, Rev. Dr. A. T. Pierson, Mr. Moody, and others. The music will be in charge of Messrs. Ira D. Sankey and George C. Stebbins. A Young Men's Christian Association Encampment, under the direction of Professor James McConaughy, will be held on the east bank of Wanamaker Lake, July 9-September 3.

MACMILLAN & Co. announce *The Modern Reader's Bible*, a series of books from the Sacred Scriptures presented in modern literary form. The purpose of this series has regard to the Bible as part of the world's literature, without reference to questions of religious or historic criticism. It is based upon the belief that the natural interest of sacred literature is considerably impaired by the form in which the Bible is usually read. The division into chapters and verses was made at a time when the literary significance of Scripture was not much considered. Moreover, the proper arrangement of the printed page, which to a modern reader has by familiarity become essential, and which is adopted as a matter of course in a modern edition of a Greek or Roman classic, has never been applied to our Bibles. Such arrangement includes the distinction between prose and verse; in verse passages the indication to the eye of different metrical forms; the insertion of the names of speakers in dialogue; the assignment of titles to such compositions as discourses and essays. It may be added that the inclusion of many diverse kinds of literature in a single volume is unfavorable to the due appreciation of each. The first volumes issued will comprehend "Wisdom Literature." Four leading representatives of this (in the Bible and Apocrypha) will be issued in the order calculated to bring out the connection of their thought: *Proverbs*, a miscellany of sayings and poems embodying isolated observations of life, *Ecclesiasticus*, a miscellany including longer compositions, still embodying isolated observations of life; *Ecclesiastes*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, a series of connected writings embodying, from different standpoints, a solution of the whole mystery of life; *The Book of Job*, a dramatic poem in which are embodied varying solutions of the

mystery of life. Each of the four numbers of this series will be issued as a separate volume, edited, with an introduction by Richard G. Moulton, M.A. (Camb.), Ph.D. (Penn.), Professor of English Literature in the University of Chicago. The introductions will be confined strictly to the consideration of the book as a piece of literature; what little is added in the way of annotation will be of the same kind. The text will be that of the Revised Version, the marginal readings being usually preferred.

THE facts and figures on German Universities published recently by Professor Petersilie and compiled from official sources are instructive in a number of ways. Including the Academy at Münster and the Lyceum at Braunschweig the Universities of the fatherland during the financial year 1891-92 required the sum of 19,912,913 marks, and of this amount the nine Prussian Universities, together with the two semi-Universities mentioned, required 10,932,016 marks. Of this former sum 4,873,158 marks were derived from endowments; 15,026,277 were contributed by the state, and 13,478 came from other sources. The salaries of teachers amounted to 7,772,726; other personal expenses were 4,300,379; while the costs of supplies, etc., was 7,839,808. The sum of 4,819,480 marks were expended on buildings and for similar extraordinary purposes. The relative amounts paid by the state to the different Universities vary greatly. The average at the Prussian Universities is 72.77 per cent. of the sum total required. The smallest amounts are asked by the rich Universities at Göttingen, with 39 per cent; Greifswald, with 30.03 per cent., and Halle, with 52.93 per cent. The highest sums are needed by Breslau, with 92.83 per cent.; Berlin, with 86.45 per cent.; Königsberg, with 86.05 per cent., and Bonn, with 81.12 per cent. Comparing the expenditures of the Universities with their attendance, it appears that for every hundred of the population of Prussia, the Universities require thirty-six marks, and of these the state treasury contributes twenty-seven. The taxation in this regard is less in Prussia than in any other German state; it is highest in Baden, where every one hundred of the population contribute seventy-four marks for this purpose, and of this sum sixty-seven come from the state treasury. The comparative cost to the state of educating a student also varies considerably at the different schools, it averaging 814 marks per annum at the Prussian schools and 600 at the non-Prussian. To this extent practically every German student is a beneficiary. The total teaching force at all the German Universities in the year mentioned was 1051 ordinary professors, 64 honorary professors, 517 extraordinary professors, 693 *privat docents*, or a total of 2325. In 1886-87 it was only 2095. In addition there were 127 (117 in 1886-87) lecturers and special teachers employed. The increase in the teaching force in the five years mentioned was, in the Prussian Universities, 12.18 per cent.; in the non-Prussian Universities, 9.65 per cent. Of the total of 2325 teachers the Protestant theological faculties numbered 160 men; the Catholic theological faculties, 70; the Law faculties, 222; the Medical faculties, 648; the Philo-

sophical faculties, 1225. Berlin naturally leads in the size of its faculties, its teaching force being 328—certainly the largest body of the kind in the world. Of the non-Prussian Universities, Leipzig heads the list with 191, while Munich, which has a larger attendance than Leipzig, has 161. The smallest corps in a full Prussian University is at Greifswald, namely, 77; while the smallest in all Germany is Rostock, in Mecklenburg, with 44 men. During the academic year of 1891-92 the average number of students for each Protestant theological teacher was 23.70; in the Catholic faculties it was 18.86; in the Law faculties, 30.45; in the Medical, 12.56; in the Philosophical 6.10, and for all faculties taken together, 11.82. The grand total attendance at all these Universities for the year 1886-87 was 28,044; for 1891-92 it was 27,486. The decrease was, accordingly, 558—a result not unwelcome to those who have watched with concern the growth of a “learned proletariat” in Germany. The greatest decrease has been at the Prussian Universities, where only three of these schools show a small gain. On the other hand, Berlin has lost 261; Greifswald, 240; Göttingen, 234; Königsberg, 158. Of the non-Prussian schools Würzburg, in Bavaria, has lost heavily, namely, 156. During the five years from 1886-87 to 1891-92 the Protestant theological departments have decreased in attendance 838; the Medical 133; the Philosophic-Philological, 1018; the Mathematical and Natural Science, 132; while the Catholic theological faculties report an increase of 132 and the Law faculty of 1432.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

The Reading Guild.

The list of books for Reading Guild for the coming year has been slightly altered since the last issue of the BIBLICAL WORLD. It now stands as follows:

1. *In the Time of Jesus*,¹ Seidel, 90 cents. 2. *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Fisher (abridged), \$1.25. 3. *The Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age*,² Burton, \$1.25. 4. *The Apostolic Age*, Pressensé, \$1.00. 5. American Institute Essays in Biblical Literature, Nos. 1 to 10 of the New Testament Series,³ \$1.00: (1) How Rome governed the Provinces; (2) The Jewish Dispersion of the First Century; (3) The Chronology of the Apostolic Age; (4) The Conversion of Saul; (5) The Rome of Paul's Day; (6) The Transitions from Judaism to Christianity and from Judaic Christianity to Universal Christianity; (7) Saul's Personal Experience as a Factor in his Theology; (8) The Personal Character of Peter, Paul and John as Effecting their Special Work; (9) The Theology of Paul and John Compared; (10) The Christianity of the First Century. 6. *The Biblical World*,⁴ \$1.50.

Material may be ordered at once, although a few of the books will not be ready until October 1. The reading in the BIBLICAL WORLD commences with the present number.

Bible Club Work.

Reference has been made to an article by the Rev. O. C. S. Wallace of Toronto, on the practical value of a Bible Club in the Church. We are accustomed to emphasize the value of such a club to its members, but the statements of Mr. Wallace concerning the value of the leadership of such a class to the pastor himself, statements made from his own experience in such

¹ Not required for second year members.

² The Acts and the Epistles arranged for historical study.

³ Ten pamphlets prepared by men eminent in New Testament work, covering periods not fully treated in the books of the course. This New Testament series of the American Institute Essays is edited by Professor Ernest DeWitt Burton, and published by the Institute. It cannot be obtained elsewhere.

⁴ This is a special price to members of the Guild, and can be obtained only through the Institute. The subscription price to all others is \$2.00.

work are new and forceful. We give them below for the benefit of the pastors among our readers :

"The advantage of Bible Club leadership to the pastor is large. It quickens him intellectually, enriches him biblically, inspires him homiletically, and greatly increases him influentially.

"*It compels him to study the Bible comprehensively.* Study of the Bible for sermon preparation is dangerous when taken alone. Many preachers will confess that the Bible has become to them little more than a repository of texts. When they read a prophecy or a gospel, a psalm or an epistle, it is with a wide open eye for something which can be worked into the next Sunday's sermon. He who reads the Bible thus is like the mountain climber who ever walks stooping, peering closely for a sight of pebbles or blossoms in his path, but never lifting up his eyes to survey the landscape. The world is suffering from narrow horizons. When the preacher's view is narrow, the people who listen to his teachings will see only close paths and comfortable rests, when they should see, in addition to these, those vast expanses of light and life and glory which God has given in his Scriptures for the edification and delectation of his people.

"*It furnishes to the preacher an abundance of sermonic material.* Instead of finding it necessary to search for texts, he has only to choose from the many which throng him, inviting his study and promising comfort and strength to those who shall hear as he interprets. He who instructs, by the question and answer method, a class of intelligent, alert Christians in a Bible Club course need never be compelled to turn over the leaves of his Bible in nervous and distracted haste to find a text from which he can evolve a message suited to the hour; for the Bible when diligently studied, proves itself to be a storehouse of material which is rich and varied, and timely as well. If any one finds it less than this, the explanation must be looked for in his own want of diligence or of method in Bible study.

"*It suggests to him new lines of investigation.* The Bible Club materials, while requiring a study of the text of Scripture first of all and chiefly, are so prepared as to lead the mind into new channels. These materials are arranged by specialists, who not only know the text of the Scriptures treated, but are also familiar with the literature which has grown up around such portions of Scripture, and though novel theories are not thrust upon the attention of the student, nor dogmatic assertions made concerning the unknown or untried, the lessons are so wisely and ably presented that they are valuably suggestive.

"Whatever increases the pastor's fitness to preach is an advantage to the Church. When this improvement of qualifications on the part of the pastor is attended by a corresponding improvement in the attainments of a considerable number of the members of the Church, the advantage is yet greater. Herein the value of the Bible Club appears. Its influence upon the Church is exemplary, educational and doctrinally unifying.

"It sets an example of earnest Bible Study. The people have before them continually an object lesson which reminds or assures or persuades them that the pastor and a certain number of others believe it to be worth while to study the Bible more than the ordinary Christian studies it; and that it is also worth while to be as persevering and earnest in the learning of Bible lessons as in learning lessons in purely secular subjects. This is an idea which has not yet gained full possession of the ordinary mind. The Bible is 'searched,' perhaps, but rather for texts than truth, for promises than knowledge, and for comforts in dark hours than for that full comprehension of God's revelation which will keep the soul continually in the light. The Bible Club is at once a protest and an invitation. It protests against that neglect of the Scriptures which is the habit of the many, and invites all to a study which shall remove from the Christian church the reproach of indifference to God's revelation. At the beginning the number affected may not be large, but if the work is continued persistently and faithfully, the influence must increase in breadth and power, and the church be lifted to higher planes.

"It raises up in the church a class of men and women who are qualified to teach the Scriptures. In many churches it is difficult to find teachers for the classes in the Sunday school. Yet more difficult is it to find competent teachers. If the average Christian, who perhaps knows a great many precious texts, from which he has derived comfort many times, and who understands well the way of salvation through Jesus Christ, is called upon suddenly to take charge of a class in the Sunday school, he urges his want of preparation, and dares not face the class with only the Bible as a help. His caution is prudent. With only the Bible in hand, the lesson would be a blank to him. He knows so little of the Scriptures that before he can teach an ordinary passage even passably he must make careful preparation. This surely ought not to be. A Christian of average intelligence, who has reached mature years, ought to be so familiar with a large portion of the Scriptures that he would not feel himself utterly lost if brought suddenly face to face with an ordinary Sunday school lesson. To remove this ignorance, and consequent want of preparation for service, the Bible Club enters the church. Its work is done thoroughly and without haste. The Scriptures are studied methodically and systematically. There is drill upon the great outlines of history and doctrine, until these have lodged in the mind to abide. Then all future reading enlarges the crystallizations around these fixed portions of truth, and the student becomes competent to teach, at a moment's notice, with some degree of intelligence, and, if permitted time to make special preparation, he can bring forth out of the treasure house of the Word things new and old. The presence in a church of a considerable number of persons thus equipped is obviously an inestimable blessing.

"It tends to secure a unification of doctrinal views. Teaching from the pulpit is often a shot fired at long range, but teaching, when the members of the class have opportunity to state difficulties, ask explanations, and make their

own offering of suggestion or friendly criticism, is shooting at short range, and he who shoots at short range, if he carries ammunition at all, is pretty certain to hit the target. In this restless, doctrinally throbbing, eagerly investigating age, the pastor needs to meet his people closely in Bible study. An illuminating word, spoken by him at the right moment, may save a soul from long months or years of darkness. In the Bible Club the opportunity for this is given, and, besides the help which he can be to those who engage in study with him, through the discovery he there is able to make of problems which are being discussed by the members of his flock, he can become warned so to mould his pulpit utterances as to help many others."

The above statements could be echoed by many another active, progressive minister.

Book Reviews.

The Messiah of the Gospels. By CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS, D.D., Professor of Biblical Theology in the Union Theological Seminary. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1894. Pp. xi.+337. Price, \$2.00.

This volume carries forward a somewhat elaborate plan which Professor Briggs projected more than ten years ago. The plan involved a history of the development of the Messianic idea through Jewish and Christian times. The first stage of the development, as recorded in the Old Testament literature, was presented in his work entitled *Messianic Prophecy*, which was published in 1886, and was well received and largely used. This *Messiah of the Gospels* is the second volume in the series. The third volume is just out, the *Messiah of the Apostles*. And it is understood that two further volumes are projected which will trace the history of Messianic ideas in the Christian church and their importance in the development of Christian doctrine. He writes in his preface that he is "convinced that the faith of the Church of the day is defective in its lack of apprehension of the reigning Christ and in its neglect of the Second Advent of our Lord."

The book now before has for its aim the investigation as to how far the Old Testament Messianic ideal was fulfilled by the first advent of the Messiah, and how far this ideal remained unfulfilled and was taken up into the New Testament prophecy and carried on to a higher stage of development. After a preliminary chapter upon the Messianic Idea in Pre-Christian Judaism, chapters follow upon the Messianic Idea of the Forerunners of Jesus, the Messiah of Mark, the Apocalypse of Jesus (treating the discourse triply reported in Matt. 24, Mark 13 and Luke 21), the Messiah of Matthew, the Messiah of Luke, the Messiah of John, and closing with a recapitulating chapter entitled the Messiah of the Gospels.

The method and arrangement adopted for the work are those which already characterized the treatment of the Messianic idea in the Old Testament period (see the *Messianic Prophecy*). In general, each book is given a chapter, which opens with a preliminary consideration of the whole book. Then follow the several aspects of the Messianic idea as found in the book, each discussed separately thus: first, a concise summary of the idea in this aspect, then quotations from the writing of those portions which contain the teaching, and then a larger statement and brief discussion of the teaching. This way of presenting the matter has its advantages, it is above all orderly and clear. But it involves a large amount of repetition, even where the duplicate and triplicate material is treated under but one Gospel heading. Another feature

of the method which invites criticism is the extensive system of quotations. In treating of Pre-Christian Judaism many pertinent passages are quoted at length from Tobit, Enoch (both Apocalypse and Similitudes), the Sibylline Oracles, the Psalter of Solomon, and the Book of Wisdom. This is desirable, from the point of view of the general reader, for these writings are not accessible to him. But in all the other chapters the quotations are solely from the Gospels, and it is hardly necessary to reproduce them. Of course it is *convenient* to have them, but they are of the nature of a luxury, for the cost of a book is in proportion to the number of its pages. By actual count one-third of the entire bulk of this book is quotations, and quotations almost wholly from the Gospels which every reader has at hand. The references without the quotations would therefore have reduced the price of the book some sixty or seventy cents, a sum which means considerable to the vast majority of theological book buyers. For that amount one could purchase almost any volume of the Cambridge Bible Commentaries, or of the excellent Handbooks for Bible Classes.

Other external defects of the book may be mentioned, the most conspicuous of which is the absence of all indexes. This is not excusable on the ground that the several passages are treated in the order in which they occur in the Gospels, for that is not the case with a large portion of them. Nor on the ground that the table of contents contains a somewhat full analysis with page numbers. No work of the sort should be given to the public without well-prepared and fairly complete indexes, both of topics and of Scripture texts. Professor Briggs did this for his first volume, the *Messianic Prophecy*; he should not have failed to do the same for this second volume. The typographical errors are not numerous, but appear occasionally, as on page 57, fifth line from bottom, and page 308, ninth line from bottom. The paper on which the book is printed is to be condemned because it will not take ink well, thus making it impossible to enter marginal index notes.

After indicating these external defects of the book, one hastens to assert that the work itself, the exposition of the Messianic idea in the Gospels, is excellently done. The thorough scholarship, historical fidelity and good judgment which one anticipates in Professor Briggs's productions are all present. The scope of the subject and the limitation of pages give the treatment a concise, general form, from which detailed discussion is almost wholly absent. Occasionally a fine-print footnote elaborates some special point. At many places in the discussion the brevity of treatment is unsatisfactory. But whatever others may think, the author's view is always put clearly and frankly. The book is conservative, more conservative in the New Testament field than the *Messianic Prophecy* was in the Old Testament field—perhaps because Professor Briggs is less at home in the former. In the main, the view taken of the Messianic idea in the Gospels is the same as that which we find in current conservative works upon the life and teaching of Jesus. It is therefore not a

new view, but is interesting and valuable because it is a fresh statement by an able scholar of the commonly accepted view.

It may be questioned whether Professor Briggs has sufficiently considered the investigations and tentative conclusions of progressive New Testament scholars. There is no Johannine problem to him—at least so far as the material he uses from the Gospel of John is concerned. Utterances ascribed to Jesus in the Fourth Gospel are treated on the same plane of historical exactness and trustworthiness as utterances recorded by the synoptic Gospels. He seems to accept the Johannine historical perspective, *e. g.*, as respects the recognition of his Messiahship. Commenting on John 1:40-51, he says: "From the beginning, therefore, in the most intimate circle of the apostles, according to John, there was the understanding between the Master and his disciples that he was the Messianic king" (p. 258). And again (p. 316): "According to the synoptists, the first distinct recognition of the apostles [that Jesus was the Messiah] was through Peter, as the spokesman, at Cæsarea Philippi, shortly before the transfiguration. . . . The Gospel of John, however, reports a recognition by several of the apostles prior to the beginning of the ministry of Jesus, when first they left John the Baptist and attached themselves to him." But elsewhere (p. 336) he speaks of how "even his own disciples were so slow to accept him as the Messiah." Does Professor Briggs choose the Johannine statement of the time of the recognition of Jesus's Messiahship as against the synoptic representation, or *vice versa*, or does he leave the point undecided? The disagreement between the two he clearly affirms. He says (p. 317) that Jesus "made no public claim to be the Messiah until the last week of his ministry." One cannot but express great surprise at the author's view of Luke 2:49, which he understands to mean that "Jesus claimed to his parents to be the Messiah, at twelve years of age" (p. 317). That is an improbably specific and mature meaning to gather from the words of Jesus, "Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house (or, as he prefers, "about my Father's business")? To postulate a full consciousness of Messiahship at so early an age is forcing the language of Luke 2:49, is not likely in itself, and is not at all necessary to the most orthodox view of Christ's consciousness and person.

One other interpretation must be mentioned with disapproval, that of John 5:25, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, the hour cometh, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God; and they that hear shall live." The vss. 24-29, according to Professor Briggs, contain a prediction of three resurrections; vs. 24 refers to a present, spiritual resurrection; vss. 28, 29 refer to the final, universal resurrection at Christ's return; while vs. 25 predicts a physical "resurrection from the dead of certain ones hearing the Messiah's voice before the universal resurrection of the last section. It was doubtless the resurrection from Hades at the resurrection of the Messiah. See Matt. 27:52, 53" (p. 276). This seems an entirely improbable meaning

to find in Jesus's words. If they had such an enigmatic reference to the events of Christ's resurrection it is likely the author of the Fourth Gospel would have called attention to the fact, for he loved to find in Jesus's sayings, as he afterward contemplated them, hidden enigmatical prophecies of the events of Christ's resurrection. With this characteristic of John, Professor Briggs agrees (see pp. 259-261), and in it outdoes John himself. He welcomes also in the synoptic Gospels passages which lend themselves to such enigmatical interpretation, and makes a great deal (pp. 188, 189) of Matt. 12:40, "For as Jonah was three days and three nights in the belly of the whale, so shall the Son of Man be three days and three nights in the heart of the earth." But there is much to be said in favor of regarding this verse as an early interpolation. The "sign" referred to in this passage is not the miracle referred to in this verse, but the *preaching* of Jonah to the Ninevites, as will appear clearly in the Matthew passage 12:38-42, and as is proved by the parallel passage Luke 11:29-32, where the preaching is the sign and the miracle is not even mentioned.

The closing chapter of the volume gathers together into brief, systematic form the information which the Gospels give concerning the Messianic ideas of Christ. It is arranged under twelve heads, as follows: The Day of Yahweh, The Advent of Yahweh, The Father and the Shepherd, The Promised Land, The Messianic King, The Kingdom of God, The Holy Priesthood, The Ideal Man, Victory over Evil, The Faithful Prophet, The New Covenant, The Second Advent. Omitting the last, these are the headings which Professor Briggs used in summing up the Messianic ideas of the Old Testament in his earlier work. With reference to each of these he now endeavors to determine how far Jesus fulfilled them prior to his ascension, and how far they remain to be fulfilled in the future. Also, with reference to the latter class, to determine whether Jesus took them up into his own prophecy, whether he enlarged and unfolded them, and whether he taught new Messianic ideals. This summary treatment of these ideals is the most original and valuable portion of the book, and is excellent. We may quote from the author's concluding words: "We have gone rapidly over the eleven Messianic ideals of the Old Testament, and have found that only a single one of them, the suffering prophet, was entirely fulfilled by the earthly life of Jesus. The predictions of the Kingdom of God, the Advent of Yahweh, Yahweh as Husband and Father, were only fulfilled in small part. The Day of Yahweh, the Holy Land and the Holy Priesthood had no fulfilment until after the enthronement of our Lord. The prediction of the Messianic King was fulfilled only so far as his birth, anointing and rejection are concerned, but not in his enthronement and victorious reign of glory. The predictions of the Ideal Man, the Conflict with Evil, and the New Covenant began to be fulfilled in important stages of initiation and advancement, but these also point forward to the future. It is clear, therefore, that the vast majority of the predictions

of the Old Testament prophets and the great mass of their ideals were taken up by Jesus into his predictive prophecy and projected into the future. We are not surprised, therefore, that the Jews, in the time of our Lord, and even his own disciples, were so slow to accept him as the Messiah. They did not see in him the realization of the Messianic ideals of the Old Testament prophets. He did not fulfil the most striking features of these Messianic ideals, but only those which were in shadow, and which had very naturally been thrown into the background in the anticipation of the Jews" (p. 336).

We have as a final word to commend the book heartily to the public as in general a sound, clear, faithful presentation of the Messianic ideas of the Gospels. It is by no means exhaustive, it is not even critical in a strict sense, but it is scholarly, and for many purposes sufficiently exact and comprehensive. It should find a place among one's books on the teaching of Jesus.

C. W. V.

Einleitung in das neue Testament. VON. D. A. JÜLICHER Professor der Theologie in Marburg. Erste und zweite Auflage. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig : J. C. B. Mohr, 1894. Pages xiv + 404. Octavo. Price 6 marks.

This *Einleitung* is wisely confined within narrower limits than some works of its class, neither the language of the New Testament nor the history of its exegesis being included. It consists of an introduction, and three parts treating successively of the history of the books composing the New Testament, the history of the New Testament Canon, and the history of the New Testament Text. Each of these divisions is ably handled from a moderately advanced standpoint. The first, as might be expected, occupies more than half the volume. Paul and the writings ascribed to him are discussed at great length. Professor Jülicher seems disposed to accept ten of the fourteen epistles, with considerable hesitation however as to that to the Ephesians. Of the four generally accepted epistles Galatians is believed to have been written first and Romans last. "Hebrews" was composed about 90 A. D. by a Pauline Christian possessing Alexandrian culture; and was probably addressed to Christians (not exclusively Jewish Christians) in Rome. The pastoral epistles cannot possibly have been written by Paul. The close of the first quarter of the first century is suggested as a probable date. Yet it is admitted that traces of them seem to exist in the epistle of Polycarp, who was martyred in extreme old age about the middle of the century, and Ignatius, who is put by Lightfoot considerably earlier. The catholic epistles are all regarded as post-apostolic. The First of Peter may have been written about 100 A. D., and the Second between 150 and 175 A. D. The most interesting part of the book is that which relates to the gospels. "Matthew" "the most important book that was ever written" was penned by a Jewish Christian of wide sympathies whose name and home are alike indiscoverable, in the reign of Domitian (81-96 A. D.). Mark is placed between 70 A. D. and the close of the first

century. Luke may have been written in the last twenty years of the first century, or the first twenty of the second. "John" cannot be earlier than 100 A. D. or later than 125 A. D. Who the author was, where he lived, and to what school he belonged are questions to which no answer can be given although he has impressed his individuality on every sentence, and was probably the greatest Christian thinker on the globe at the time. The evidence of tradition is of course decisively rejected, but it is not refuted. The weighty testimony of Irenæus can hardly be got rid of with the remark that he may have been mistaken on this subject as about other matters. The chapter on "The Synoptic Problem" is clear and full. Matthew and Luke are both thought to give abundant indications of the use of Mark and an *Ur-Evangelium* which may have come into existence between 60 and 70 A. D. Some portions of Matthew may represent oral tradition; and some parts of Luke can be accounted for on the fragmentary hypothesis. The following chapter discusses the value of the synoptic gospels as sources of history. Their narrative is pronounced at the same time incomplete and inexact. They know far too little for our wishes, and what they know and describe is a mixture of fact and invention. The healing of the Gadarene demoniac, for instance, is "pure legend." The account of the raising of the widow's son is probably a late fiction modeled after the story about the daughter of Jairus. The introductory narratives of Matthew, and still more those of Luke, are "entirely products of pious fancy." "Edification was the measure of credibility for the authors of the synoptic gospels. It was not the Jesus of actual life, but the Christ as he appeared to the heart of his church whom they described, of course without having the least idea of the possibility of such a distinction." Nevertheless, we read with some surprise in the very next paragraph, the impression which these narratives leave on the reader's mind about Jesus is on the whole an accurate one. The Fourth Gospel is regarded as virtually unhistorical. It has scarcely any value for the history of Christ in the flesh. Concerning the origin of the New Testament canon, Professor Jülicher of course sides with Harnack against Zahn. The last part of the book is a capital introduction to the study of the New Testament text. Two slips may be mentioned: the date of the discovery of the Lewis Syriac, 1893 for 1892; and the astounding assertion that the Codex Bezae is known as the Codex Cantabrigiensis "because it is at present at Canterbury" (p. 387). The bibliography is characterized by some strange omissions. The earlier labors of Dr. Resch ought to have been recognized and the works of Bishop Westcott on the Canon and Hebrews might have been advantageously recommended to German students. If read under the superintendence of a judicious teacher this excellent book will be found to fulfil the promise of its title.

W. T. S.

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CONTINUING

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TWO NOTABLE utterances of distinguished representatives of Systematic Theology have recently appeared in public print. In an address before the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, President Patton of Princeton College affirms that the great question of today is not what the Bible teaches, but what the Bible is. This latter question, he declares, cannot be answered by appeal to proof texts drawn from the Bible to prove its own inspiration. The right of the Bible to rule the hearts and consciences of men is the pressing question, and its discussion involves considerations of history, philosophy, and literary criticism. President Patton believes that the John Calvin of the new theological era will believe in the same doctrine that Calvin of Geneva believed in. "But when he gathers up the results of all this modern discussion he will present them not only as doctrines that have a logical relation in a system but as divine ideas that have a chronological sequence in the unfolding of a plan. The historical method will leave its mark upon theology." We do not care to discuss with Dr. Patton whether John Calvin of Geneva, without an historical method, anticipated by a few hundred years precisely the results, from a doctrinal point of view, which historical science by its laborious method is after a time to reach. But we are interested to notice his clear recognition and assertion of the legitimacy and necessity of the historical method in theology, and, as a part of this, of that which is technically

known as "higher criticism." If President Patton has been correctly reported, he makes explicitly or impliedly four assertions. 1. The great task of the hour in theology is the attainment of a "doctrine of Scripture," a true statement of the nature of the Bible and the ground of its authority. 2. This doctrine cannot be reached by simply formulating the Scriptural doctrine of the nature of Scripture. Dr. Patton does not intimate that the Scriptural doctrine is not the true one, but only that the Scripture cannot be treated as an ultimate authority in answering the question, What is the authority of Scripture? 3. The right of the Scripture to rule the hearts and consciences of men, *i. e.*, the authority of the Scripture in ethics and religion is to be established, in part at least, on grounds of history, philosophy, and criticism. 4. The method of the systematic theology of the future will be not only logical, but historical. We believe that these things are true, and we are grateful to President Patton for his forcible statement of them. But if they are true, this means nothing less than that biblical criticism, in the large sense of the term, is for Christian scholarship the pressing duty of this hour, and that for the systematic theologian of the future a prime condition of success will be a command of the historical method.

PRESIDENT HOVEY of Newton Theological Institution in a sermon to the graduating class on the Problems of the Bible and Philosophy, gives this advice concerning the treatment of critical theories which impeach the credibility of the Pentateuch and Joshua: "Have no fear of honest inquiry, for truth is likely to prevail at last. The danger of stagnation and repression are greater in the long run than those of bold investigation; timidity is at least as foolish as audacity, especially in the search for truth. Take all the time you need for testing every novel theory concerning the Pentateuch. For the critical pendulum has oscillated perpetually during the last fifty years, and you will have no reason for haste in fixing the point where it will finally rest. The elements of this critical problem are very complex and scattered

PRESIDENT
HOVEY ON
HIGHER
CRITICISM

through a large part of the Old Testament. Probably no man has mastered them all. Be patient, therefore, and trustful." It is plain that President Hovey recognizes the legitimacy of historical criticism. But the yet more notable implication of these words is that the problems of historical criticism—certain at least of those which have been most discussed and concerning which most alarm has been felt by the timid—are not after all the fundamental problems of religion. Were they such, the preacher of the gospel would be compelled to settle them at the very outset of his ministry.

THESE two utterances of President Patton and President Hovey seem at first sight to be almost contradictory. President Patton declares that the question of the nature of the Bible is the pressing question of the hour, and that this cannot be settled without historical criticism. President Hovey tells us that the questions of historical criticism are not likely to be settled at once, and implies that some at least of them are so far from being the fundamental questions of religion that the Christian preacher may afford to be very patient in waiting for their solution while he goes about his distinctive work as a preacher. But this apparent contradiction between the two utterances is no real contradiction. To say that a question is the pressing question of the hour is not to say that it is the fundamental question of religion; is not to say that in it Christianity is on trial for its life.

The inclination of the theologian, indeed of every earnest-minded thinker, is to feel that every great problem is fundamental. But it is a result well worth achieving to learn that this is not so; that there are some questions, large and important in themselves, questions which may easily be for a given generation the great questions, on which nevertheless the destiny neither of religion in general nor of Christianity in particular hangs. To this class belong the great problems of the higher criticism. Important they are; it is difficult to overestimate the possible effect of their

solution on Christian thought and Christian life. Fundamental they are not. If it was not possible to discern this when the questions were first raised in modern times, the progress that has already been made render it possible now. Historical criticism does not threaten the foundations of religion or of Christianity. Not only so; but, while much is still in litigation, the beneficial effects of the higher criticism are, as President Hovey admirably points out in further paragraphs of his sermon, already apparent. President Patton is right. The problem of what the Bible is, itself to be solved by the historical study of the Bible, is the great problem of Christian theology today. Christian scholarship has no higher duty in this hour than the prosecution of the work of higher criticism. President Hovey is right. These problems are not fundamental in the sense that on them hangs the destiny of Christianity. We can afford to be patient and trustful while Christian scholarship discovers their solution.

IN rather decided contrast with the words of these two masters of theological science are the words of many men less skilled in Christian doctrine, though more prominent in evangelistic effort. To them—if the recently published words of a certain distinguished evangelist are correct—any attempt to separate the Bible into parts of different value is dangerous and to be avoided. The argument is simple; if you give up a part of the Scripture, what is to hinder another from giving up another part, until no Scripture is left. This argument is enforced with the story of the good deacon who cut out such passages from his Bible as his minister said were untrue until nothing of the book was left, and then presented the bewildered pastor with the covers. Another method of enforcing the position is to appeal to the number of converts made by men holding to the extremest conservative views in regard to inspiration, and to the paucity of conversions made by those who hold to “higher criticism.” Both arguments are supposed to establish the danger of the higher criticism as a means of studying the Scriptures.

*AN OPPOSITE
OPINION*

Now nobody can deny that there is a danger in a rash rejection of any portion of the Scripture as untrustworthy. That there has been too much of such rash rejection is also very likely. But to maintain that there can be no standard of judgment is not only unscholarly, but contrary to the history of the church. The merest tyro in the history of the canon knows that even in the case of the New Testament different sections of the church have never hesitated to reject certain books on purely critical grounds. But further, the acceptance or the rejection of a single word of Scripture or any other piece of literature is not a matter of personal like or dislike. No one is quicker than the "higher critic" to detect the untrustworthiness of any such subjective test. The whole question is one of standards by which to judge. If a hard-working and successful evangelist believes every word of the Bible was written at the dictation of God and by the persons whose names are attached to the various books, he doubtless has criteria that satisfy him. Without doubt such an inclusive conviction is of great homiletic advantage, especially when there exists an equally strong conviction that his interpretation is as infallible as the Word itself. But, after all, such a conviction is simply the outcome of certain processes of judgment. And it is a fair question as to whether, in the long run, the acceptance by Christians generally of a belief in the Bible on the mere basis of such authority will be as helpful to Christian growth as the acceptance of the Bible on the basis of a more discriminating judgment. Nor is it quite fair to imply that "higher critics" are endeavoring to reject portions of the Scriptures. As mere critics they are seeking neither to reject nor to accept anything. They are simply striving to arrive at the truth. An intelligent study of their work—not that of the *destructive* critics, so-called—will convince any man who is anxious for the preservation of the faith once delivered to the saints that there has been no stronger weapon of Christian apologetics than "higher criticism." Indiscriminate opposition to critical methods as such is largely the result of ignorance as to what such methods really are. To say that if one verse of the Scripture

THE VALUE OF
THE MAIN
ARGUMENT

is declared unauthentic all must be rejected is as sensible as to say that all money must be rejected because of the detection of a counterfeit. The more rational view would seem to be that of thankfulness that it is possible so to distinguish between the genuine and the interpolated as to give a firm basis for theological teaching. Such a possibility, thanks to the "higher critic," is every day growing more complete.

THE illustration of the mutilated Bible cannot be regarded with the same equanimity as the position it enforces. It certainly is taking. But it is intrinsically untrue. Who was the minister? Did he ever exist outside a book of sermonic illustrations? And it is as improbable as untrue. Did the scissors-wielding deacon have a Bible with pages printed on only one side? Or did he cut out the texts on both sides at once?

To resort to such an illustration as an argument is unworthy of any candid man—and especially of a teacher of religion. Are there no ethical limitations in the use of telling but untrue analogies? Is it allowable to use such *ad captandum* arguments in the settlement of what men whose opinion is worth everything regard as important questions? It is a relic of an unchristian theological past to make prejudice the jury before which to try an honest attempt at the discovery of truth.

AND then it is astonishing to make the number of his conversions a gauge of the correctness of a man's attitude towards the "higher criticism." Was Peter with his two thousand conversions any nearer the truth than his Master? The question as to the authenticity of Jonah is not to be settled by counting new converts. Even if the argument be that the "higher criticism" cuts the nerve of evangelical activity, the statement is as yet one of very doubtful fact. To say nothing of the short time in which criticism has attracted the attention of the church, it is not true that the men who hold to its results are without spiritual influence. They

THE UNFAIR-
NESS OF THE
ILLUSTRATION

AS TO CON-
VERSIONS

may be less effective in revival meetings, but many of them are centers of strong and edifying religious influence. Their criticism is an outcome not of their contempt but of their love for the Christian Scriptures.

THE proper attitude of all Christian people towards the results of "higher criticism" is one of impartial investigation. No one really objects to the critical method itself. The point at issue is as to its results. There is little need of alarm. Truth will not perish, and the truth, after all, is the goal of honest scholarship. The words of Presidents Patton and Hovey are of vast worth for all those who are perplexed as to the merits of today's discussions and should lead to confidence in the final outcome. In the meantime let us stop confounding important questions with those that are essential, and above all, a man's attitude towards questions of mere scholarship with his moral and religious character.

THE USE OF HEBREW IN NEW TESTAMENT STUDY.

By PROFESSOR JOHN POUCHER, D.D.,
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The position stated—Reasons: 1. Idiomatic expression conveys habit of thought. 2. Hebraism dominant in the time of Christ. 3. The Jews superior teachers in religion. 4. Familiarity with Hebrew aids in the interpretation of New Testament rhetoric. 5. Explains the view of prophecy then accepted. 6. Throws light on the Apocalypse. 7. Accounts for the language of Christian theology. 8. Cumulative advantage in the knowledge of Hebrew words and phrases. 9. Quotations ought to be read in the original. Conclusion: Study the sources of truth.

NOR the least advantage gained in the study of Hebrew is the special fitting with which it furnishes an exegete to teach the Christian gospel. While in the ordinary subdivision of work in theological seminaries it may be convenient to differentiate on the basis of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, no one must suppose that the subjects are to be studied without regard to relation. Linguistic research must be subordinated to a perception of the inspired unity in the two records, yet a knowledge of the language in which the first part was written may be important in determining the force and beauty of the unity in both parts. The study of Hebrew is necessary to a thorough and competent investigation of the New Testament.

1. Knowledge of the language of a people is highly important in becoming acquainted with them in their modes of thought and action. Words and sounds are common and trustworthy manifestations of character, condition and conception. On this fact, to some degree at least, has been based a still persistent defense of the study of both Greek and Latin in the colleges. A strong argument is thus furnished for better education in English and the literature embodied in it, and the true reason for the study of modern German and French rests somewhat on the same principle. Culture in the sacred and classical languages may well be pursued for its æsthetic value. In addition, the

knowledge of the masterpieces of production in letters, painting, sculpture, practical mechanism, or any other form of descriptive expression fills the contemplative mind with the highest and most satisfactory ideals of being and achievement. The authors of the New Testament books were all, with one possible exception, Jews. If they did not use the ancient Hebrew tongue, they were yet thoroughly imbued with the Old Testament spirit. Though they spoke in another dialect and wrote in an acquired vernacular, their idioms of thought were inherited from Abraham, Isaiah, and the psalmists, and in spite of themselves their speech revealed their origin and their cast of mind.

2. Christianity took its rise not in a period of religious depression and inactivity, as is often asserted, but at the culmination of an enthusiastic, though bigoted, Jewish faith and spirit. Ecclesiasticism was consequently prosperous, and Herod's temple was a fit and forcible expression of gorgeous splendor in elaborate ritual and regal pomp in spiritual things. The influence of the Septuagint was at its highest and the schools of the great teachers of the law had never so flourished. Even shepherds were in a frame of mind to hear the songs of angels in the night. Simeon, Zachariah, Anna, and Mary were waiting for the consolation, pondering the prophecies, eagerly greeting the signs of a better advent. Pharisaism was the embodiment of loyalty to the Hebrew idea. It at first opposed the Christ because he disappointed them in their temporal hopes, but in the spirit that originated the sect there were evidences of sympathy with the Light and the Truth, as appears in the logical outcome of the vehement agitation in Paul's mental and mortal nature. This man insisted that he was a Hebrew of the Hebrews, and yet he is recognized as the master-theologian of the new and mighty doctrine. How can one fully comprehend Paul, unless he is familiar with Paul's point of view and the nature of the substance which reflects the light revealed in him?

3. The Jews have been preëminently superior as religious thinkers and discoverers. Even if Moses, David, or Isaiah did not write all that is ascribed to them, if the book of Job was the product of a late age, or if the Old Testament consists largely

of compilations from various unknown sources, it still remains that the seed of Abraham were unequaled in their genius for thinking and writing on matters that pertain to man's spiritual relations. Their Scriptures betoken a peculiar mental process that is far better understood when the genius of their language is comprehended. Surely the forms of utterance adopted are not to be neglected when the conceptions to be transmitted are fraught with such signal force, unparalleled fervor, and unquestionable merit.

4. A study of Hebrew will furnish excellent drill in that style of composition which is best suited to religious contemplation. Picture, metaphor, trope, artistic combination of word and phrase, copious vocabulary in moral nomenclature, spontaneity in didactic vision, the poetic instinct, freedom to change the point of view from objective to subjective, or *vice versa*, readiness to connect facts and allow the observer to draw appropriate inferences, are marked features, easily perceived in the detail of words and sentences, as well as in the very being of their authors. The ability to interpret these correctly is essential to the best understanding of the revelation which has Jesus Christ and his office as its subject. Such power is acquired only by patiently dwelling on the form and idiom of the medium through which the idea has been transmitted. There may be some dull minds that can never fully appreciate the poetic conceptions of Bible story, but if they would steadily and perseveringly apply themselves to the study of Hebrew grammar so as to be able to discriminate in the niceties of syntactic and rhetorical expression, their powers of literary interpretation would be greatly improved. Much of the cold, rigid, and obnoxious theology of past ages grows out of those views of the divine Word that do not truthfully reflect the exact condition of the author's mind. The abuse is more serious in its consequences when applied to the New Testament, which has been dissected as a corpse by the doctors. Organs and their functions have been dis severed from other vital parts, and peculiar or exceptional conditions have been treated as universal and absolute. As an illustration, many of Paul's statements have been viewed not in the light in which a Jew of his

age would be apt to take them, but rather in the sense in which a modern critic out of sympathy with Semitic taste and sentiment would use them. The truth as it is in Jesus may be entirely hidden.

5. Familiarity with the original form of prophecy will enable a reader of the evangelists and apostles to comprehend their views in regard to its meaning and fulfilment. If the Jewish opinion of the Scripture then prevailing could be kept in mind, some at least of the difficulty would be removed. Bible story, very appropriately, had come to be regarded as the embodiment of moral teaching. The historic conditions and prophetic aspirations involved wholesome principles that were capable of new and recurring applications. Old Testament literature held itself in solution amid all the thoughts and desires of the Jew, so that no incident could happen without having its counterpart in the most remarkable and comprehensive religious and political cultus ever known. The apostles, and Paul no less than the others, believed in a divine destiny for the chosen people. Messianism was wholly Jewish in its origin. The idea was not thus unfitted to control the universal mind, for narrow as the Jew was in his political affiliations, he was possessed of the thought and faith that find a response in every age and clime.

6. One part of the New Testament—the Book of Revelation—is modeled on the form of Old Testament apocalypse. This much-abused portion of Scripture is intensely Hebraistic in conception and presentation. Many of the words are Hebrew, and the allusions can only be explained by reference to previous Old Testament notions and conditions. The use of "Amen" is clearer and more appropriate when taken in its original sense. Observe also such words as "Abaddon," "Alleluia" and the translated "El Shaddai" in the term "God Omnipotent." The writer thinks in the manner of Ezekiel or the author of the Book of Daniel, or Hosea, in his view of Gog and Magog, of the four beasts and of Babylon the mother of harlots. His dream of the New Jerusalem is an expression of pious and lofty patriotism worthy of a real Jew enlightened by the broader view of a regenerated Christian. He uses the term "Satan" as it had long been understood.

He delights in references to the mystic numbers and constructs his sentences in accordance with the poetic model so often adopted and approved. He ingeniously protects himself from liability to civil prosecution by cabalistic terms well understood by the initiated, but an insoluble and apparently harmless mystery to those against whom his message was directed. The nature of the volume is such that an entirely satisfactory explanation of all its enigmatic forms can hardly be hoped for, but it would not have been subjected to such grossly inaccurate and outrageous applications as have been the fancy of succeeding commentators if they could have imbued themselves with the Semitic spirit and could have thoroughly understood the form and aim of Hebrew expression.

7. The masterpieces of Christian theology, as found in the epistles to the Galatians and Romans, are conceived in the atmosphere of Hebrew thinking and composition. Paul has given to the story of Eden a meaning and importance which a mind unused to Semitic formulas and canons could have never comprehended. It is probable that the moral bearing of this account would at least have been sadly obscured had not a Greek-educated Jew been inspired to fix in philosophical terms suited to modern reasoning the delicate sentiment and moral ideas expressed in such poetic and artistic fashion by the author in Genesis. It was this son of Benjamin who could find an allegory in the story of Abraham, and Hagar, and Isaac, to prove that in the world's drama the vital principles of faith and adoption are essentially and universally embodied. His arguments were addressed to those acquainted and in sympathy with the Jewish system and the law on which it had been established. The cogency of his reasoning was apprehended by those in whose minds the literary form of his thought was indigenous. It is liable to misconstruction by those who cannot interpret the idiom of Jewish theology and creed expression of the chosen people.

8. There are in the New Testament many words and phrases whose meaning is clearer and stronger when viewed by the Hebrew scholar. The advantage of Semitic learning is cumulative on this point, and the enumeration of a few instances would

not sufficiently impress anyone who does not appreciate linguistic research. Still it may be well to note an instance or two, so that the suggestion may not seem to be fanciful. The frequent use of "and," "so," "then," "therefore," in the gospel of John, is of Hebraistic origin, and when so regarded is more easily explained. Notice also here and elsewhere the terms, "verily," "and it came to pass," "opened his mouth," "answered and said." There is some advantage in a knowledge of the meaning of proper names and the sense in which names are employed. The simplicity of construction, considered in relation to the possibilities of involved structure in the Greek, which the gospel writers used as their medium of communication, is greatly appreciated by one accustomed to the style and thinking of the Old Testament. In phrase and vocabulary the New Testament is so much like the older document that its translation into Hebrew even from the English version is not a difficult undertaking.

9. Direct quotations are made from the Old Testament. Much erroneous exposition, both in principle and effect, has resulted from a disregard of the conditions on which the later writers copied. Those who can interpret in their original setting the passages quoted will be better able to read the mind of him who uses them in a new connection, not only in the verses under consideration, but also in the other parts of his work where his general purpose is disclosed. There cannot be a much more fascinating pursuit for the theologian of linguistic taste and attainment than the comparative study of the Septuagint, from which so many of the New Testament quotations are made, and the text of the original composition which was not affected by Alexandrian thought and worship.

The study of Hebrew is in danger of being neglected because it is regarded only as the vehicle in which an obsolete system has been transmitted to later generations. To some it is nothing more than an interesting curiosity. Besides, the simplicity of the construction is such that to a student not far advanced in the genius of the language it seems as if little has been suggested more than may be derived from a common translation. It pays

to drink deep of the truth that flows from the original fountain, even though confined to its own limits, but there is invaluable advantage also to be gained by the fitting of the student to taste the riper product of the gospel that began to be preached in Jerusalem. The scientific theologian of these times will pursue his investigation to the original sources of inspired thought. He aims to know not only what a thing is, but how it came to be what it is, and thus will he contribute in making it what it is intended to be. The divine word is worthy of all our pains. If its last truths are more clearly comprehended by a thorough knowledge of the medium in which earlier revelations were conveyed, the opportunity thus to learn must be duly prized and eagerly accepted.

THE QUESTIONS OF HIGHER CRITICISM AND THE SOURCES WHENCE THE ANSWERS MAY BE SOUGHT.

By PROFESSOR F. B. DENIO.
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IN the investigations into which the writer has been led the following analysis has been gradually developed, and is presumably capable of improvement. In taking up the investigation of any book such portions of this analysis are selected as are required. The subjects in Higher Criticism are regarded as those occasioned by the nature of the contents and concerning the origin of the writings :

A. Literary Criticism :

1. Peculiarities of style, or of language.
2. Unity, the originality or revision of the writings.
3. Index of the subjects mentioned or treated.
4. Synopsis of the course of thought, or of the contents.

B. Historical Criticism, *i. e.*, the relation of the writing to history :

5. The authenticity or trustworthiness of the writing.
6. The genuineness or the authorship of the writing.
7. For whom written or spoken.
8. When written or spoken.
9. Where written or spoken.
10. On account of what cause written or spoken.
11. For what purpose written or spoken.
12. Fulfilment of the prophetic or predictive element.

Classification of the kinds of evidence which help toward the attainment of the required answers :

I. External Evidence :

- i. Evidence from tradition.
- ii. Evidence from history external to the Bible, and this is
 - (1) Direct statement,
 - (2) Indirect allusion or quotation, and
 - (3) Implication.

(a) Positive.

(b) Negative, *argumentum e silentio*.

iii. Evidence from the parts of the Bible external to the writing under consideration. This head is subdivided precisely like the preceding head.

II. Internal Evidence :

iv. The contents of the writing under consideration. This also has subdivisions precisely like ii. above.

v. Style, and here the subdivisions are from

(1) The lexicon or vocabulary,

(2) The grammar or the structure of words or of sentences, and

(3) Style proper.

vi. The place of the writing in the development of religious knowledge and institutions. This concerns

(1) The historic life of the people,

(2) Their religious institutions, and

(3) Their religious knowledge and thought.

vii. Psychological interpretation, the psychological probabilities as to the writing being produced at the time supposed, by the person supposed, under the circumstances supposed, or as to the correctness of the record and the like.

viii. Evidence from the ethical character of the record.

Of course a scheme like this may become merely mechanical in its use. Such is not its design, rather it is for the sake of making a full and thorough survey of the field, and of gaining a more precise estimate of the value of the evidence gained.

THE JEWISH APOCALYPSES.

By PROFESSOR GEORGE H. SHODDE, PH.D.,
Columbus, Ohio.

The Book of Enoch—Book of Parables—Psalms of Solomon—Assumption of Moses.

Although post-exilic and inter-Testament Judaism was characterized chiefly by the development of a radical and to a great extent one sided and formalistic Legalism, yet the nomistic principle was not the only factor and force that controlled the ideas and ideals of the people in those non-prophetic but nevertheless very historic centuries. The questions of the age were such that an exclusive consideration and study of the Law did not answer all the problems and perplexities that demanded answers. The fate of Israel, especially its condition of servitude to heathen masters, when compared with the promises of its future glory and supremacy, presented so many interrogation points, that their solution could not but engage the attention of thoughtful minds. The author of one part of the Book of Enoch laments: "We hoped to be the head and we became the tail;" and the literature of the period abounds with wails and lamentations over the deplorable lot of the people now subjected to the power of the sinners. From the days of Zerubbabel the history of the faithful is one of continuous humiliation, defeats and suppressions. The bitter realities of the present, the tyranny of the Persian, Syriac, and Roman rule, seemed to belie the picture of the golden age as depicted by the pen of the prophets for the encouragement of the people in their obedience to the Law of the Lord. It seemed as if God had forgotten his words and that his arm had become too weak to perform what he had promised. Seemingly the closest study of the Law could not unravel these enigmas; accordingly, we find side by side with the predominating literature of the Law a class of works that deal with the intricacies of the present and seek to harmonize Israel's fate and Israel's divinely

appointed destiny. This is the deeply interesting and instructive apocalyptic literature. In all these the object is, more or less apologetic, the vindication of divine wisdom and providence in its dealings with the people, and the assurance that the day of consummation, when all things shall be adjusted, is near. Those that were written before the days of Christ possess not only the historical interest for the understanding of Israel's hopes and fears, but also because they undoubtedly exerted a considerable influence in molding, the religious sentiments, thoughts, feelings and beliefs of the Jews in the New Testament era, and have a special value for the historic study of the New Testament books and their contents. The history of the New Testament Times as also New Testament Theology are largely debtors to this class of literature so long despised as mere "curiosities," but now being gradually understood in their true historic importance and value. A brief sketch of the historical background and chief contents of one or two of these unique compositions will not be a work of supererogation.

For a number of excellent reasons the Book of Enoch takes the precedent of all the works of this class. Intrinsically and historically it is the most unique and valuable of its kind. It is the only one that is quoted by a New Testament writer (Jude 14, 15); its messianic ideal is the highest produced by an uninspired pen; it was beyond doubt a powerful factor in the make-up of the religious and theological atmosphere in which the New Testament age lived and moved and had its being; it possesses a renewed interest at present from the discovery of the new Greek fragments in the Gizeh manuscript and the publication of a new English translation by R. H. Charles, of England, on the basis of an amended Ethiopic text, which is especially valued for the text critical study of this work.

In its present shape the Book of Enoch is a conglomerate of at least three different elements, written by three different authors at different times. The oldest though theologically considered not the most important portion, is embraced in chaps. 1-37 and 72-104, which also contains a few interpolations by the so-called Noachian fragmentist. Internal evidences point to the fact that

this portion was written before the death of Judas Maccabæus, *i.e.*, before 160 B. C., although quite a number of scholars claim a later period, generally that of John Hyrkanus for this portion of the book. In all probability it is a production of the chasidim or pious party of patriots, who stood up for the traditional nationality, worship and life of Judaism. The historical background, the ever memorable struggle for autonomy against heathen oppression, and the immediate needs of the hour have largely given matter and manner to the book. At no period in Israel's history was the danger of disintegration of nationality and religion greater. Especially did Antiochus Epiphanes demand practically the total annihilation of Israel as a people and as a religious community.

When surrounded by such dangers it is not surprising that the voice of pseudo-prophecy resounds. There were problems to solve; anxious inquiries to answer, downcast hearts to cheer, failing hopes to be reëstablished. Could God have deserted his people? What had become of the promised glories of the Messianic age? To answer these fundamental questions and others arising out of them, was the principal object of the author. His aim is largely to vindicate God's guidance of the people: and secondly, to give a renewed prediction of the sure fulfilment of the divine promises. Apologetic in purpose, the book emphasizes the almighty power of God, his ability to accomplish his purposes; God's omnipotence is demonstrated by an appeal to Israel's history. A symbolical account of the chosen people from the beginning to the days of the writer is given, to which, without any break whatever, is added the predictions of the near future. In this historical survey the evidences are furnished, not however purposely so stated, for an apology and defense of God's actions. The divine guidance of Israel, the chief events in the history of theocracy, and then the sure punishment of all her past foes are portrayed and left to tell their own story. In all this Israel is seen as the special object of God's providence and love and this furnishes a guarantee for the future.

And this future is really what the writer wishes to portray. Here, where logic and facts fail him, he resorts to rhetoric. He is consistent with his character as a pseudo-Enoch not to quote

directly from the Old Testament ; a fact, however, that may also, at least in part, be explained by the difference between his eschatological views and those presented by the inspired prophets. In glowing terms he predicts the deliverance of Israel from its troubles, the subjugation of its enemies, and the glories of the future. According to his views, the measure of Israel's woes is now full and the immediate future will bring succor and salvation. This is not to come by the natural development of events, but by an especial and powerful interference of Jehovah. The Lord will come to the rescue of the persecuted faithful. The hosts of heaven and the power of nature alike contribute to this great revolution. From Azazel, the chief of fallen angels, down to the meanest enemy of God's children, the sinners shall all endure terrible punishments. Then the sway of the righteous shall begin. The character of this sway is chiefly political, and, only subordinate and subservient to this, also religious. The establishment of a universal recognition of Jehovah, with Jerusalem as a central seat of worship, is a factor in this rule, apparently only because thereby Israel's glory is made all the more glorious. Nature, which suffered by man's fall, will participate in this restoration, but only as a means to the end of honoring Israel. This fundamental idea is the future greatness of Israel as a nation of the faithful brought about by the intervention of their God. After the new order of things has once been established, God, so to say, again returns to his retirement, and leaves the government in the hands of the Messiah. This latter person takes no part in the organization of the kingdom ; he only appears in "the world to come," as the Messianic kingdom is technically called by Jewish theology. He is one of the people, not a messenger from on High, or of divine nature and power. He grows out of the reëstablished faithful ; and, characteristically, he is distinguished from his fellows only by superior strength and power. He is really only *primus inter pares*. In his heart the rule of the new kingdom is placed, and this kingdom shall be without end.

Deeper in contents and more systematic in presentation is the second part of the Book of Enoch, embracing chapters 37-71 and called by the writer himself "The Book of Parables." It

undoubtedly existed one time as a separate composition and was later incorporated into the older book. Its character, tone, tendency and object differ materially from those of the first part or groundwork. The historical substratum presupposed by its contents is different from that necessary to understand the other portions. No wars and rumors of war threaten the existence of the people. The subtler weapons of religious indifference or outspoken atheism in the circles of the aristocratic leaders threaten to leaven the whole mass of the people. The rulers of the people no longer subject themselves to the spirit of Jehovah. They are the exact opposites of what the theocratic idea of royalty in Israel would demand. Or, to be historically more definite, the political heads of the people are the representatives of the Hellenistic movement, which, in the centuries preceding the advent of Christ, endangered Israel's individuality. Herod and his family, this tribe of monsters from the alien house of Esau, were the recognized leaders of this agitation. And against this direful school of thought, their theology and their morals, the Parables of Enoch are directed. They expose the godless character of the heathenist innovations in the people's faith, and prophesy the speedy exaltation of the despised and humble few who have walked in the paths of the fathers. In no other apocalyptic work do the people of God appear so distinctly as an exclusive and united band. Again and again they are called "The congregation of the righteous." As the dangers that threaten them are almost exclusively of an intellectual or rather spiritual and moral character, the deliverance of the true Israel shall correspond to these evils. The general, more transcendental way of thinking displayed throughout the Parables is shown especially in this connection, where God does not, as is done in the groundwork, come to the relief personally, but sends his messenger, the Messiah. This idea, the deliverance of the people from the ways of false wisdom through the Messiah, is the peculiar and distinctive features of this book. Even the characteristics of the Messiah are dictated by the work he is to perform. As he is above all things to teach the truth, he is described as endowed with superior and divine wisdom. In chapter 46 we find it plainly and closely taught

that the Messiah is superhuman and pre-existent for the work he is to perform. He shall arrive in the near future. To enforce this wisdom he will be given the power of divinity. Those who have abused their high stations of influence and have led the people astray, will receive the punishment their deeds have merited. For the Messiah shall also come to judge, and only after this task has been performed will he establish his kingdom. Jerusalem again is the center and the people's glory shall be a temporal supremacy. This feature, however, is not so strongly emphasized here. The blessings are largely of an ethical character, including ever the blessed state of sinlessness — *i. e.*, absolute sway of God's law. In fact, the author of the Parables reaches a height of thought, both dogmatically and ethically, that is marked by no other writer before the New Testament save by the inspired. For this reason not a few have thought that he had been under Christian influences. This, however, is manifestly not the case. He is and remains a Jew, writing with the prejudices and carnal hopes of late Pharisaism.

Entirely different in outward form but quite similar in thought to the Parables of Enoch are the so-called Psalms of Solomon. The eighteen odes bearing his name are the only productions of a lyrical character we possess from that period. Their entirely Jewish character is apparent from the mould in which they have been cast. Like the Psalms of the Old Testament, these imitations are a factory of thought rather than of force. No effort is made at a metrical system, as in the Homeric hexameter of the Sibylline books, but a successful *Parallelismus membrorum* is carried out. Here, too, the contents point out with sufficient accuracy the historical background, and this again goes far in explaining the general tendency and eschatology of the composition. The sad calamity of the people again is the theme inspiring the pen of the writer. The misfortune has this time come from the West. The contests all point to the conquest of Jerusalem by Pompey in 63 B. C. as described by Josephus and Tacitus as the date of the composition of these lyrics, or rather, they were written after his death, 48 B. C.

The author frankly acknowledges that these calamities are

not altogether understood. The sins and lawlessness of the people are the cause. Pharisaically his doctrine of both reward and punishment is that of merit. Men choose between good and evil, and are rewarded accordingly. The central thought is given, 9:9, in these words:

“He who lives righteously treasures up for himself eternal life before the Lord .

But he who lives unrighteously is himself the cause of his soul's destruction.”

From this historical and dogmatical basis the apocalyptic prophecies flow naturally over against the godless rule of the later Maccabean princes, and in view of the high-handed injustice of the Roman general, the pseudo-prophet remembers the promises that have been attached to the seed of the house of David. He takes up this peculiar thread and spins it out. Deliverance in such a crisis can come only from a powerful Messiah, and he shall come as a mighty potentate. So strongly is the advent of “David's Son” emphasized, that we can almost imagine we are hearing the Pharisees of the New Testament. The Messiah's mission will be of a double character. The sinners will feel the fire of his wrath and the saints the wisdom of his instructions. The unruly elements shall be removed from Zion and a new rule be established, at the head of which is the Messiah, sent for this purpose by God. The nations that disregard the laws will flee from his face or be destroyed; and the saints shall rule, being collected from the entire Dispersion. They will be the children of God; the land will be divided among the tribes; no stranger will be allowed in the sacred congregation. The heathen nations will subject themselves, fearing the Lord. The Messiah is powerful, but has nothing that transcends the human, although he is declared free from sin, and his rule shall last forever.

Of the Apocryphon called by the Greek fathers “Assumption of Moses,” which had been lost since the days of Origen and Clement of Alexandria, a few fragments have been found in recent decades. Its contents claim to be the last exhortation and instruction of Moses just before his departure to heaven,

given to his successor. Prophetically the future of the chosen people is portrayed in general outline and on theocratical principles. The history proceeds in the manner of apocryphal writings down to the Roman expedition under Varus, 4 B. C., against Jerusalem, and then the writing suddenly turns prophetically to the Messianic future. Roman supremacy will be cast aside; Satan will have an end; the Celestial One will sit in the seat of government and in holy wrath destroy the enemies of the people. Earth and heaven will show the works of the last times; and then the happy age for the faithful will have arrived.

Other apocalyptic visions and ideals could readily be mentioned here, especially those found in the Jewish pre-Christian sections of the Sibylline books and other prominent writings of that time and kind; but the leading ideas are practically the same, although presented in a kaleidoscopic variety of shapes and forms. Since the historic method of studying the biblical books is being accepted and adopted practically by the entire protestant Christian scholarship, the value of these writings is seen and appreciated. As purely literary productions their value may be little or nothing; but as expressions of a school of thought in Israel, of the hopes and fears, false though they be, of the down-trodden people of God in the days of their humility, and as aids for the study of this world, of the thought and teachings of the New Testament era, this apocalyptic literature repays searching investigation and careful study.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE QURAN.

By DR. GUSTAV WEIL.

Translated from the second edition, with notes and references to the Quran and to other authorities, by Professor Frank K. Sanders, Ph.D. and Harry W. Dunning, B.A., of Yale University.

ISLAM—CONTINUED.

VI. *The Mutazilites.*—Even in the first century of the Hijra a violent opposition sprang up against the followers of the doctrine of predestination, who were favored by the government, and even a son of Umar, the pious Caliph, expressed himself in favor of the idea of the freedom of the will. They were naturally opposed by the Umayyads (Omeyyads) and suppressed, because their authority, resting on artifice and force, especially needed for support and justification the doctrine of the divine determinations and the predestination of all human affairs. Maabad, who stood at the head of the opposition, said in regard to his adversaries, "These people shed the blood of men and then dare to assert that all our acts are determined in advance by a divine decree." But as a matter of fact he was tortured and finally hung on account of his opinions, not because they were contrary to the Quran, but because they were dangerous to the absolute authority of the sovereign. He was executed by the terrible Hajjaj in A. H. 80, by order of the Caliph Abd Almalik. But nevertheless his doctrines spread and gave rise to the sect of the Mutazila and even influenced orthodox Islam, which indeed held fast to the doctrine of the predestination of the elect and the damned, yet—in fact without logical sequence—did not extend predestination to the individual good or bad acts of men, therefore, as with many Christian dogmatists, predestination really occurs only in consequence of foreknowledge. But the Quran, as appears from the passages quoted, rejects also this dogma and contains no place which speaks so decidedly for it as the following from the New Testament: "And as many (of

the gentiles) as were ordained to eternal life believed."¹ "And we know that to them that love God all things work together for good, even to them that are called according to his purpose. For whom he foreknew he also foreordained to be conformed to the image of his son."²

VII. *Other doctrines of Islam.*—We will not tarry longer on the remaining dogmas of Islam, partly because they do not enter so deeply into the inmost character of the faith and have less reference to life, and partly because their further development belongs to a later period and therefore to the history of Arabian philosophy rather than to our subject, Muhammad and the Quran. Such are the dogmas of the existence and attributes of God, of the eternity of the Quran and of the bliss of the righteous at the actual sight of God. All these dogmas gave rise to many conflicts and sects because some held to the letter of the Quran, others preferred a free interpretation: some blindly trusted to the so-called sayings of the prophet, others placed the law of the eternal reason above everything and strove to bring the religious systems into religious unity with the elements of Greek philosophy.

VIII. *Makrizi's opinion regarding early Islam.*—A famous Arab author, Makrizi, says in his history of religion, "When God sent his prophet Muhammad to men, this prophet gave them no different idea of God than that revealed to him by the angel Gabriel. No one asked him for a fuller explanation of this matter, as was the case in regard to other doctrines such as that of prayer, alms, fasting, pilgrimages, resurrection, hell and paradise. His contemporaries understood the meaning of the expressions relating to God in the Quran without especial instruction concerning the divine attributes, and no one thought of establishing a difference between attributes which pertained to his existence and those which pertained only to his activity. They were satisfied to recognize eternal attributes in God, such as knowledge,

¹ Acts 13:48.

² Romans 8:28-30. It should be noticed the frequent phrase, "whom God guides" often means simply "who takes God as a guide." Cf. Sura 17:99 and 18:16. So in many places the phrase "God guides whom he will" means "God guides that one who wishes (to be guided)." Suras 2:209; 35:8, 9; 39:5; 32:13; 6:125.

power, life, will, hearing, sight, word,¹ fame, splendor, magnanimity, benevolence, strength, might. They did not express themselves any more clearly concerning these. They also took in a literal sense everything which God ascribes to himself in the Quran, such as face, hands, and so forth, without in the least degree thinking of a similarity of God to his creatures. They believed in the unity of God regardless of everything to the contrary, without, on the other hand, destroying God's existence by denying the attributes. They held fast to the authority of the Quran and believed in God and the mission of Muhammad without recognizing the methods of the scholastic theology or the investigations of philosophy."

IX. *Good works rather than faith the supreme requisite among the early Muslims.*—As we do not desire to go beyond the companions of the prophet, we will not follow further the history of the dogmas of Islam, and merely remark in closing that however much stress Muhammad laid in the Quran upon belief in *one* God, in the prophets, and in the immortality of the soul, and exhorted to prayer, fasting, and war for the faith, none the less in a host of places obedience to other revealed doctrines and a virtuous, pure life, according to the teaching of the Quran, is required from true believers and is noted as a means of obtaining the good-will of God and a share of the happiness of Paradise. It wrongs the founder of Islam to assert that he did not value the practice of virtue and resistance to passion and required only faith. How often do phrases like this occur in the Quran: "Those who believe and do good come to Paradise." But as this mistake is frequently made some passages may be adduced to prove the contrary: "Say! I am only a mortal like yourself. I am inspired that your God is only one God. Then let him who hopes to meet his Lord act righteous acts and join none in the service of his Lord."² "He who acts aright and he who is a believer there is no denial of his efforts; verily we write them down for him."³ "As for him who is outrageous and prefers the

¹ *I. e.*, his thought as he revealed it through prophets.

² Sura 18: 10.

³ Sura 21: 94. Compare also Sura 22: 14, 23, 49, and 5: 12.

life of this world, verily hell is the resort. But for him who feared the station of his Lord and prohibited his soul from lust, verily Paradise is the resort."¹ In Sura 74 the inhabitants of hell answer questions as to why they were condemned to such punishment. "We were not of those who prayed! we did not feed the poor, but we did plunge with those who plunge and we called the Judgment Day a lie."² Sura 70 reckons as inhabitants of Paradise "those who pray, divide their property with the poor, believe in the day of Judgment, are not dissolute nor faithless, do not break their word nor pervert true witness."³ In the third Sura usurers are threatened with the flames of hell.⁴ So if in other places Paradise is promised to those who believe in God and fight for his kingdom, yet it is by no means said that the rest is set aside by God-revealed teachings, but, on the other hand, a complete mastery over human passions and an exact obedience to God's will, as set forth in the Quran, is prescribed to the true believer, who must be prepared at any moment to sacrifice his life for his God. The Muslim dogmatists, who are even less to be confused with Muhammad than the church fathers with Christ, indeed maintain that believers, despite their evil deeds, are not thrust out of Paradise forever, but they still admit that they must first be punished for their crimes. It is maintained by Christian sects that unbelief alone deserves the name of sin and is reckoned against a man in the future; on the other hand he has no reward promised for good deeds. Christendom, the church independent of the state, might reject false doctrines, and progressive theology might seek to soften the harshness, to explain difficulties, and to separate the real from the unreal, and the additions of man from the truly divine. But in Islam the doctrines most favorable to the rulers always had the ascendancy, and of course the many crimes of the later Umayyads and first Abbasides, under whom the dogmatism of Islam was established, placed faith over good deeds, although in the Quran they go hand in hand.

X. *The personality of Muhammad the element of weakness in Islam.*—We are indeed far from wishing by these observations to put the founder of Islam on a level with the founder of Chris-

¹ Sura 79: 36-41.² Vss. 44-47.³ Vss. 22-33.⁴ Vss. 125, 126.

tianity, but in our opinion the difference lies in the personalities rather than in the dogmas. If the Mutazilites had been able to develop as freely as protestants, it is possible that a system of theology would have sprung from the Quran which at any rate would have satisfied the requirements of human reason, as well as Christian rationalism founded on the Gospels. In the personality of Muhammad, which first came really to the light during his stay at Medina, not in the different conception of the doctrines of the fall and the atonement or in the denial of the Trinity, that is of the Trinity as taught in the seventh century, is to be sought the decline and the eventual destruction of Islam. Christ was consistent throughout his life and sealed it by his death; but Muhammad shrank from threatening danger and sought by all kinds of artifices and finally by force to gain control for himself and for his religion. Moreover, later he was not content to spread general doctrines and moral precepts in the name of God, but his positive laws and ordinances were to be considered as coming from heaven, although he himself was frequently compelled by circumstances to change them and had too little control over himself to submit to them. Muhammad himself not only cannot be a mediator between God and man, but is not even a pattern of virtue; and so his revelations have come to nought and are incapable of inspiring the soul with true religious feeling. If the Quran, as compared with the Gospels, is full of anachronisms it is not because it combats various dogmas whose significance at that time was entirely unknown, but because, like the Pentateuch, it contains laws which are not useful and applicable to all countries and peoples nor to all times. Muhammad was originally a reformer and as such he deserves full recognition and admiration. An Arab who saw the dark side of the Judaism and Christianity of that period and sought at the peril of his life to crush polytheism and to impress upon his people the doctrine of the immortality of the soul deserves not only a place among the great men of history, but even the name of prophet. But as soon as he ceased to be a persecuted man, as soon as he tried to establish truth by means of assassination and open war, and in the name of God proclaimed new interna-

tional, ceremonial, civil, police and criminal laws, he put upon himself and his word the stamp of human weakness and transitoriness.

XI. *Legal material of the Quran.*—The ceremonial laws of Islam are indeed not so numerous as is commonly supposed in Europe, but there is one which at least frees Muhammad from the reproach of favoring the physical comfort of the Arabs in his precepts, viz., the fast of Ramadhan.¹ When we think of the glaring desert of Arabia and of the command for a whole month, from sunrise to sunset, not only to abstain from food but not even to drink a drop of water, it will be impossible to consider the observance of the Muslim regulations as easy or to affirm that it requires no struggle between soul and body. The prayer five times a day with the accompanying purification is less burdensome, for it is short and every man performs it for himself. The pilgrimage to Mecca, however, once in a lifetime, and only to be avoided by those whose circumstances do not permit of such a journey, requires of those who live far from this holy city a great sacrifice of money, time, and trouble.

The most important laws concerning food consist of the prohibition of wine, of blood, of animals dying a natural death or sacrificed in honor of an idol, of beasts of prey and of pork. The police who have charge of the markets have to look out for the observance of these regulations and also to prevent forbidden games of chance.

The laws of Islam which have to do with public law and administration determine the taxes, the division of booty, the treatment of prisoners, and the relations of believers to idolaters, Jews and Christians. According to the more severe laws of Muhammad's last years, they are to war against the idolaters until every trace of idolatry ceases, and against Jews and Christians until they submit and pay tribute. Only the tithe is to be exacted from believers and according to the Quran it is to be used for the poor, for travelers, for the tax-collector, for the freeing of slaves, for the assistance of those who have to pay an expiatory offering, for maintenance of the army, and to win

¹ Since the Arabs observe a lunar year, the month of Ramadhan comes in turn at all seasons of the year.

desirable people to the faith. It has already been mentioned that although Muhammad could not as a man have taught and acted otherwise under the prevailing conditions, still by these martial laws he weakened his prophetic position and thereby placed himself far below Christ who sought to gain, by inward character, not by force, the dominion of the world for his faith. But even Christianity itself, in direct opposition to the gospel, from the time it mounted the throne of the Cæsars until now has plainly shown how great the temptation is, after attaining to power, to use it for warring upon and suppressing those of other faiths.

But at any rate it is impossible to deny that, while intolerance is an outgrowth of Christianity which either church or state can root out and has rooted out in almost all European countries, it is forbidden in the Quran; at least there can be no talk of equality between Muslims and non-Muslims as long as this holds the position of a supreme and unquestioned law-book.

The law of punishment in the Quran is exceptionally mild. The death penalty is only for those guilty of unnatural crimes, of apostasy from Islam and of murder; and if the relatives of the murdered man prefer blood-money to revenge, even a murderer saves his life. Adulterers, too, at least in the Quran in its present form, are not punished with death, and in any case only when four male witnesses were present at the deed. For bodily injuries either the Old Testament law of retaliation was followed or the offender had to pay a fixed sum to the injured.

The most severe criminal law, which is justifiable only by the necessity of checking the inborn propensity of the Arab to thievery and robbery, is the cutting off of the hand for each appropriation of the property of another.

The civil laws of the Quran deal especially with inheritance and marriage. They are chiefly directed towards securing the rights of the woman and limiting the power of the man. Polygamy is not prohibited, but conditions are attached which the true believer can rarely fulfill. Fidelity in marriage is made a duty for the man. Another portion of the civil law takes up the lot of slaves, which Muhammad also sought to lighten. The way was prepared for the complete extinction of slavery,

and they were often freed, especially in the case of believers. Emancipation of all the slaves was hardly possible in view of the continual wars in which the conquered were permitted to live only as slaves. The poverty of the Quran in laws of traffic is explained partly by the simple conditions of the time and still more by the fact that Muhammad probably retained many existing customs without bringing out any revelation about them. This lack was soon felt; but they appealed first to oral traditions of Muhammad, then to the examples of the earlier Caliphs and their decisions, made with the help of learned men, and lastly, since in the completely changed conditions of life these became insufficient, they sought to decide from analogy, so that at times the most difficult questions about any matter, from a phrase in the Quran to a steamship voyage, could be settled in the name of heaven by a Muslim jurist just as by a rabbi of the old school.

XII. *The sociology of the Quran.*—The sociology of the Quran can be considered the most complete part of this remarkable book. To be sure, like the other subjects of the book, it is not found in any one chapter, but the most beautiful moral principles and precepts, like a golden thread, go through the whole web of superstition and deceit. Prejudice, vengeance, self-conceit, pride, falsehood, double-dealing, slander, invective, mockery, covetousness, profligacy, extravagance, jealousy, ostentation, distrust and suspicion are enumerated as godless vices; benevolence, humanity, modesty, forbearance, patience and perseverance, contentedness, uprightness, honesty, chastity, love of peace and truth, and, before everything, faith and devotion are recommended as the virtues most pleasing to God.

XIII. *The outlook for Islam.*—If, after this condensed discussion of Islam, one asks what future it has before it¹ and what progress it must make in order to push itself to the heights of European civilization, it seems probable that it must go the same way as reformed Judaism, both in sundering tradition from revelation and in making a distinction in the sacred word between

¹ Dozy thinks that Islam has a future development at least as brilliant as that of Catholic Christianity. He calls attention to the fact that they have gone through similar stages of development, and affirms that Islam is making great progress in southeastern Asia and the Indian Archipelago.

eternal truth and laws and precepts which are called out only by temporary external circumstances, and are suited only to a certain period and people. A future gradual union with Christianity is only possible if it is portrayed in such a way that Muhammad's polemic against it finds no point of attack. But if Christian missionaries proceed, as hitherto, to require of Muslims a belief in dogmas which they cannot grasp and which they, like the founder of their religion, are compelled to reject as heathenism, then all their efforts will still be fruitless. We must seek to enlighten the Muslim by the elementary study of the history of the world and of religion as well as of the sciences, instead of by means of the catechism and the Bible, which, without a commentary, are a closed book to non-Christians, its exterior repelling rather than attracting. If the money yearly expended by the different missionary societies for the conversion of the Muslims was used to found good schools, then able teachers sent to the Orient would do more to undermine the foundations of Islam than the missionaries with their free distribution of translations of catechisms and Gospels. Moreover, that after conversion to Christianity orientals would still be far from European culture is proved by the Christians living among them, who in many respects stand below the Muslims, although from the point of view of the missionaries of the various creeds the latter have the greater need. The work of the Turkish government in regard to education both in Stamboul and Cairo bears the mark of egotism and is always more or less connected with military affairs. The foundation of European institutions, good primary and grammar schools, is entirely lacking. Therefore there has been no inward change possible hitherto, but only a glossing over of old corruption; and therefore most orientals who have been sent to European universities for a scientific education have returned without having attained their aim.

But the fact that education at the present time is of a low grade is to be attributed not to Islam, but to bad government; for the high position which scientific studies held among Muslims in the Middle Ages proves that they are not incompatible with that faith. A sensible code of law, which alone can justify the Muslim Orient in taking a place beside European Christian

countries, is incompatible with Islam unless it is reformed as suggested above. Since many people have maintained that Muslims use their subjects of other faiths no worse than many Christian rulers treat theirs, we will cite a few laws which prove the contrary. The payment of a head-tax and the wearing of a distinct costume were early enforced. Worse yet are the following Muslim laws: Of unbelieving prisoners of war, the women and children are enslaved; as for adult males, the Imâm is to decide whether they shall be killed, enslaved, exchanged, allowed to be ransomed, or, if it seems expedient, set free. A murderer is executed only if he has killed a Muslim, not for the slaying of an unbeliever. The blood-money for a non-Muslim is fixed at one-third of that for a believer. This was the reason of the long opposition of the Porte to the execution of the murderers of the consuls at Salonica. One indispensable qualification for a judge is that he should be a Muslim. An unbeliever is ineligible as a witness. Many other laws are not at all suited to our times; as, for example, those relating to the tribute, which have long been observed by the Ottoman government only so long as they filled their own coffers. Also the limitation of trade to articles permitted to Muslims. Speculation in food products is forbidden. The government can compel the speculators to sell their stock at market price. No interest can be demanded for loans. But Europe has troubled herself little about such laws, which, however, for the most part are still in force: whence it has had to insist upon the actual suspension of all privileges founded on religious belief; for only thus, even with better rulers than Turkey has had since the death of Sultan Mahmud, is a peaceful and harmonious intercourse between Christians and Muslims possible, and a single European power has undertaken to interfere with every protection in favor of the faithful. Whether the Sultan has the power to defy the Ulamas in this way is a question which does not belong here. But it is certain that an equalization of the different creeds, which is of more importance than nationalities, must put an end to the privileges of the Turkish race, if the Ottoman kingdom is to make genuine inward progress.

THE USE OF MYTHIC ELEMENTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. I.

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It has been one of my duties for the past few years to introduce classes of Japanese students to the mythological tales and personages of Greece and Rome as preparatory to the study and appreciation of English literature. In the course of this instruction I have had occasion to call attention to parallel stories in the Bible in which similar truths or great facts of human nature and experience are taught or illustrated. As a result my attention and thought have been directed anew to the question of the existence and use of mythic elements in the Old Testament.

Perhaps the main reason why most Christians shrink from the idea of there being myths in the Bible is the loose conception, often taken, of a myth as a euphemism for falsehood or lie; and, as the great aim of the Bible seems to be the declaring of truth, the possibility of its containing lies is very disturbing. We need therefore to define our term. For our present purpose we may summarize the scientific definitions found in such standard works as Murray's *Manual of Mythology*, Keightley's *Classical Mythology*, and *The Century Dictionary*, as follows:

A myth is a more or less fictitious or imaginary story or narrative respecting, *First*, deities or objects of worship; *Second*, prehistoric events connected with the life of a nation or of the human race; *Third*, prehistoric heroes, real or imaginary; *Fourth*, the phenomena of nature.

I am well aware that some mythologists would reduce all myths to the fourth class, and seek to explain the origin of every myth as an attempt of man in his poetical and philosophical moods to account for, or, rather, to clothe in language and thus make understandable to his imagination and fancy, some ongoing of the world outside of man. But we need not stop to discuss

this classification, for the fourfold division given answers to the general conception; and that is the conception we need in considering the subject before us.

In regard to myths of the first class—stories of deities or objects of worship—we can say at once that, though the Jewish people sprang from a race worshiping various deities, and though they came in contact with the systems of mythology of Egypt, Phœnicia, Babylon, Chaldæa and other ancient peoples, including Greece and Rome; and while they at times believed in and worshiped the various gods of some of these nations, yet we have in the Old Testament no stories about any of them.

Again, whatever theory may be true as to the different names of deity in the Old Testament, the complete absence of stories about their origin or the relations between the Being intended by them and the gods of the surrounding peoples reduces the mythic elements to the minimum of possibilities. About the only chance for a reference to a myth would be in regard to God's relations to beings other than human and less than divine. It is precisely in this connection that we find what may be such a reference in the allusions to a conflict between God and some proud, arrogant giant being or beings, which are found in the following passages:

¹ God will not withdraw his anger;

The helpers of Rahab (the Proud One) do stoop under him.

² He maketh peace in his high places;

Is there any number of his armies?

³ He stilleth the sea with his power,

And by his understanding he smiteth through Rahab.

⁴ Canst thou bind the chain of the Pleiades,

Or loose the bands of Orion (the foolhardy Giant)?

⁵ O arm of the Lord! art thou not it

That cut Rahab to pieces, and pierced the Dragon?

It should be said, however, that A. B. Davidson and others interpret this "Rahab" as referring to the sea, ultimately, and so make it a nature myth of another kind while agreeing that in

¹ Job 9:13. ² *Ibid.* 25:2-3. ³ *Ibid.* 26:12. ⁴ *Ibid.* 38:31. ⁵ Isa. 51:9.

Bildad's speech (Job 25 : 2-3), the reference is to a war, similar to the Titanic war of Greek mythology, where Jehovah overcame with the help of his heavenly armies. It has been suggested also that the Nephilim, mentioned in Gen. 6 : 4, refer to this same race of Titans who made war upon God. Aside from this reference we are not likely to find any use of a myth of the first class in the Old Testament.

Another class of myths found among all nations—if we except the Jews—is about prehistoric events connected with the origin and early life either of the human race or of individual nations.

In Genesis, up to the tenth verse of the eleventh chapter, we find what purports to be accounts of creation, including that of the first man and woman; how evil came into the world; the first murder and the building of the first city; the destruction of the habitable world by a flood, and the subsequent re peopling it; the origin of different languages and the consequent dispersion of the races.

I suppose that few, if any, doubt that tradition had *some* share in preparing these accounts for the use of the first writers; and that in most of these narratives, if not in all, there is *some* play of the human imagination manifested in certain pictorial efforts to make these scenes and truths appreciable and vivid. If this be so, then, even under divine inspiration and divine guidance, the natural processes of thought, including the imagination, of the writers would make use of at least non-historical elements. One illustration of this, which would be admitted by every thoughtful person, is the declaration: "And the Lord *came down to see* the city and the tower which the children of men builded."

It would be too long a task to go into the details of each of these narratives; nor, if we did, could we determine just where fact and fiction begins, supposing the latter to exist. In point of fact no two minds, certainly no two classes of mind, would draw the lines precisely alike. So far as I can see, we must take the stories as they stand, and with all the light we can obtain from every source—including the parallel accounts of the same, or similar events found among other peoples—determine each one for himself the general impression left on his mind. For

my part, the impression has been, from my earliest recollection, that of a *story*, setting forth great facts, but still a story, the details of which are clearly imaginary. The talking of a serpent to a woman, the conception that knowledge of good and evil could be obtained by eating a certain kind of fruit, or life be gained from another tree, and the like, seem purely and evidently fictitious forms, sort of interesting, even necessary garments,—garments of flesh, if you will,—clothing truths that otherwise would fail to be recognized. Some, I know, think the account of the fall is an allegory; but it does not seem to have the self-conscious marks of that class of writings. To me Lenormant's¹ admission seems more in harmony with the probabilities; namely, "that the inspired compiler of Genesis used, in relating the fall of the first human pair, a narrative which had assumed an entirely mythical character among the surrounding peoples, and that the form of the serpent attributed to the tempter may, in its origin, have been an essentially naturalistic symbol."

With regard to myths of the third class, those about heroes, real or imaginary, one hesitates to say much; for here it is possible—as the facts in the case abundantly show—to take the widest divergency of view, and, therefore, here is the greatest liability of mistake. I suppose Samson occurs to nearly everyone as the character in the Old Testament most likely to have mythic elements attached to him. The story of Jonah is so commonly thought of as a "Parable setting forth the love of God to the Gentiles" that we can leave it out of the account. We are all familiar with the theory that Samson, like Hercules, is a *sun myth*. Possibly, but if so, he has been so thoroughly metamorphosed into a man that he has lost all trace of his origin except his name, which means *sun-like*; and how dangerously foolish it is to build or reconstruct a myth out of a name may be seen from that ingenious attempt, made a few years ago, to show that Gladstone was a sun myth (*glad-stone*, *e. e.*, bright, light-giving-stone). The writer might also have gone on to show that Disraeli was Gladstone's father, instead of the black storm dragon that on occasion swallows up the sun, for was not the

¹ *Beginnings of History*, p. 115.

former afterward called *beacon's-field*, and Lord beacon's-field at that?

That nearly every nation of antiquity had its hero of strength is true, I suppose, and that there gather about these heroes more or less of marvelous and fictitious accounts is not only probable but inevitable. I see no insuperable objections to supposing that some such accounts adhere to the Jewish hero Samson, but beyond this there seems no good reason for going. Certainly, if Samson be a *sun myth* then the writer of his life is proved to be a most wonderful, creative literary genius; for, long before there had been gradually developed the faculty for writing fiction, in the modern sense, this writer had this faculty so fully in possession that he gave to literature a character thoroughly human from top to toe, "every inch a man," such as not even Homer could give or Shakespeare surpass.

In myths of the fourth class, myths of fabulous birds or creatures originally setting forth well-known phenomena of the physical world, we find the most unmistakable references and allusions in the Old Testament, particularly in the poetical portions, precisely where we should expect to find them supposing them to exist.

Take the reference in Job, 29:18, to that fabled bird, the Phoenix: Then I said: I shall die in my nest, and I shall multiply my days as the Phoenix; or to the mythical night-hag or demon (Heb. *Lilith*.),—traditional first wife of Adam—mentioned in Isa. 34:14, who was to haunt Edom along with satyrs and wild beasts of the desert.

It would be interesting to examine other examples, especially those bird-like, or beast-bird-like creatures the cherubim and seraphim which, according to Dr. Friederich Delitzsch, were mythic in origin. "The cherubim," he says, "were originally personifications of the clouds and the seraphim of the serpent-like flashes of lightning."¹ I shall confine myself to one more example, one which appears under a variety of names.

¹ *Wo lag das Paradies* (1881), p. 155, quoted by Cheyne in *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, Vol. II. pp. 297, 298.

Job (3:8) as he curses the day when he was born, says:

“Let them curse it that curse the day,

Who are skillful to rouse up Leviathan” (*or the Dragon*).

If we compare this with Job’s saying (26:13):

“By his spirit the heavens are made bright,

His hand hath pierced the swift serpent,”

we get a clear idea of the meaning of both passages. Workers of magic, or men currently believed to have the power, are implored to overcome or cover the day with darkness by their skill in waking up some huge creature, serpent-like monster, called leviathan. On the other hand, the Lord, by his having pierced the serpent, clears, makes bright the heavens. Thus we have both sides of this ancient and world-wide mythic belief: first, that a monstrous winged serpent (the storm-dragon) had the power to darken the day by covering or swallowing the sun; second, that some divine being (in this case, the Lord) was quite able to slay this monster and, by so doing, restore the heavens to their accustomed brightness.

In Isaiah (27:1) we have another reference to this same mythical creature and the Lord’s power to slay it:

In that day the Lord

With his sore and great and strong sword,

Shall punish leviathan, the swift serpent,

And leviathan, the crooked serpent,

And he shall slay the dragon

That is in the sea.

If by “*the sea*” is meant “the waters that are above the heavens,” mentioned in the Psalms, the “upper ocean in its dark, cloudy reservoir,” then the reference is remarkably true to the character of several nature myths; for the dragon in the sea is then the same as the swift or gliding serpent, and that again is the same as the crooked or winding serpent. We thus have the dark storm-clouds personified under different aspects; swiftly, silently covering the sky; twisting themselves in out, over and around one another; and swimming in the sea overhead, and yet the three are one.

Hids to Bible Readers.¹

THE LETTER OF JAMES.

By ERNEST D. BURTON,
The University of Chicago.

James the Lord's brother: his place in the Church: his doctrinal position—His letter addressed to Christian Jews outside of Palestine—Their condition and the purpose of the letter—Its characteristics—Analysis.

JAMES the Lord's brother, though in the life of Jesus not a believer in him, became early in the apostolic age a leading man in the Christian Church. The way in which he is spoken of both in the epistles of Paul and in the book of Acts implies that he was at the head of the church at Jerusalem, and a man of influence not only in Jerusalem, but among Christians generally. See Gal. 1:19; 2:9—he is even mentioned here before Cephas and John; compare the prominent place which the book of Acts (15:13 ff.) assigns to him in its account of this same event—Gal. 2:12; 1 Cor. 15:17; Acts 12:17; 21:18. Tradition agrees substantially with these intimations of the New Testament. He is said to have been surnamed the Just, because of his exceeding righteousness, to have been highly esteemed both by Christians and by Jews, and finally to have died a martyr's death (probably about 63 A.D.) testifying to Jesus (Josephus Ant. 20, 9, 1; Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. 2, 23). During the latter years of his life, he was practically the head of Jewish Christianity, sustaining to it a relation similar to that of Paul toward Gentile Christianity. Though he did not take the attitude of hostility to Gentile Christianity which the opponents of Paul assumed, but, on the contrary, recognized the validity of Paul's mission to the Gentiles according to Paul's understanding of it (Gal. 2:9), yet for himself and for his Jewish brethren he clung to the law. Tolerant toward the more liberal view so far as it affected the Gentiles, it is nevertheless doubtful whether he ever fully appreciated its real meaning—quite certain that he never would have reached it for himself.

¹ Under this head will be published from month to month articles intended to furnish help in the intelligent *reading* of the books of the Bible *as books*. They will aim to present not so much fresh results of critical investigation as well established and generally recognized conclusions.

This is undoubtedly the James of the New Testament Epistle of James.

The letter is addressed "to the twelve tribes which are in the dispersion," *i. e.*, to Jewish Christians outside of Palestine. For though the tone of the letter is in general such that it might almost as well have been addressed to Jews as to Christians, yet one or two passages show clearly its Christian character. See 1:1, 2:1, also those that are somewhat less clear, 2:7; 5:7, 8. These were the larger parish of James, perhaps in part Jews who had come under the influence of their brethren who accepted Jesus as the Messiah when visiting Jerusalem to attend the feast, perhaps in part commercial travelers (see 4:13) who either had once resided in Jerusalem, or had come in contact with Christians in their travels. We speak of them as Jewish Christians, yet it would probably be more correct to call them Christian Jews, or to use the expression of Acts, Jews that believed, *i. e.*, in Jesus as the Christ. For it is doubtful whether any of those to whom the letter was addressed recognized themselves as in any sense the less Jews because they had become Christians. Christianity—even this word did not yet exist for them, their faith, let us say—was to them simply a type, to them the true type, of Judaism.

The letter being written to persons scattered in many places, and indeed in some cases moving from place to place, could not in the nature of the case address itself to any particular situation existing in a given place and at a given time, but is necessarily somewhat general in character. Yet it is written to accomplish a definite result. Those to whom James writes are very far from being perfect according to the standard of the law or of the gospel. Most of them were poor (2:5, 6; the passage 5:1-6 is probably not addressed to the readers of the letter, but is a denunciatory apostrophe to the rich outside of the Christian synagogue); they were subject to trial which it was needful for them to bear with patience, and to temptations which evidently they did not always resist. Though poor, and oppressed by the rich they were yet meanly obsequious to them. Faction, jealousy, strife, self-confidence were prevalent among them. Perhaps the root of all their faults lay in their having carried over into their lives as believers the old characteristic vice of the Judaism of their day, a formal conception of religion, which makes it consist in the holding of certain opinions rather than in character and conduct. As Jews, which be it remembered they still were, they were prone to be hearers of the law rather than doers. As Christians they were inclined to make faith a

mere assent to certain propositions, rather than a relation to God transforming their lives.

The purpose of the letter is intensely practical, and its method is the method of a practical man. James does not emphasize for his readers the theological error which underlay their mistakes of life. He rebukes their sins directly and by name, insisting upon the necessity of a high and pure morality. Intimations there are indeed in his references to the new birth (1:18) and to the law of liberty (1:25; 2:12) that he knew that the only spring of right conduct is in a renewed heart, whereon God has by the word of truth written the new law, that thus becomes a law of liberty. Yet these things are but referred to in passing. The stress of the letter's emphasis is upon objective right living.

Though it shows evidently the influence of the ethical teachings of Jesus, it is very different from the discourse of Jesus. Though it touches on some of the same themes with which Paul dealt, and teaches a doctrine to which Paul would have assented, it reflects a mind of a very different cast from his. The profound insight of Jesus did not belong to his brother according to the flesh. The organizing and reasoning power of the Apostle to the Gentiles did not appear in the head of the Jewish Christian church. Nevertheless it is very wholesome advice which James writes to his Jewish brethren abroad; and after all these centuries the Church finds this letter still useful, helpful reading. Sententious, almost epigrammatic in style, abounding in simile and metaphor, the book is full of sentences that stick in the memory, and carry their lesson with them. If it is, as perhaps the majority of scholars hold, the earliest writing of the New Testament collection, this fact adds interest to the study of the book and furnishes a hint of what Christianity would have been had no Paul arisen with profounder insight into the true significance of the gospel of Christ.

There is little that can be called plan in the book. It consists of short paragraphs whose connection one with another is chiefly in the one purpose that animates the letter.

ANALYSIS.

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| 1. Salutation. | 1:1. |
| 2. Concerning trials and temptations. | 1:2-18. |
| 3. Doers of the word, not hearers only. | 1:19-27. |
| 4. Against respect of persons (obsequiousness to the rich, contempt of the poor). | 2:1-13. |

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| 5. Against faith without works, which is dead. | 2 : 14-26. |
| 6. Concerning the use of the tongue. | 3 : 1-12. |
| 7. Against faction and conceit of wisdom. | 3 : 13-18. |
| 8. Against love of pleasure and of the world, leading to strife and pride. | 4 : 1-10. |
| 9. Against evil speaking and judgment one of another. | 4 : 11, 12. |
| 10. Presumptuous planning and boasting reprov'd. | 4 : 13-17. |
| 11. The oppressive dealing of the rich denounced. | 5 : 1-6. |
| 12. Patient waiting for the coming of the Lord enjoined. | 5 : 7-11. |
| 13. Against swearing. | 5 : 12. |
| 14. Praise and prayer enjoined. | 5 : 13-18. |
| 15. Care for the erring ones enjoined. | 5 : 19, 20. |

Comparative-Religion Notes.

Recent Appointments.—The Ohio Wesleyan University has appointed the Rev. W. F. Oldham, A.M., D.D., to the position of Lecturer on Missions and Comparative Religion. Dr. Oldham was formerly the head of the Anglo-Indian College at Singapore:

Edmund Buckley, Ph.D., has been appointed Docent in Comparative Religion at the University of Chicago. Dr. Buckley was formerly connected with the teaching staff of the Doshisha College in Japan. His special field is that of the Chinese and Japanese Religions. The University of Chicago conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Philosophy after a course of special studies and the presentation of a thesis upon "Phallicism in Japan," which is noticed elsewhere in this department.

Lectures and Studies.—The Haskell Lectures on Comparative Religion, on the foundation established by Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell at the University of Chicago, were given at the University on successive Sundays from May 5th to June 9th by the Rev. Dr. John Henry Barrows of Chicago, who was appointed the first lecturer. The general theme of the lecturer was *Christianity, the World-Religion*. The subjects of the several lectures were as follows: May 5, Universal Aspects of Christianity; May 12, World-wide Effects of Christianity; May 19, The Universal Book; May 26, The Universal Man and Saviour; June 2, The Christian Revelation of God the Basis of a Universal Religion; June 9, The Historic Character and Elements of Christianity in their Relations to the Universal Faith. Great interest on the subject was aroused not only on the part of University students but also among the thoughtful people of Chicago. The course was a pronounced success and prophesies great usefulness for the new foundation.

Professor J. Leonard Corning announces a course of Illustrated Lectures which he entitles "Art Studies in Comparative Religion." They are seven in number. After an introductory discussion the following themes are discussed and illustrated: 1) Theophany, or the Expression of the idea of God in the Art of the Ages; 2) The Trinities of Pagan and Christian Art; 3) Demonology in Pagan and Christian Art; 4) Mortality and its symbols in Pagan and Christian Art; 5) Eschatology, or Tomorrow of Death, as symbolized in the Art of the Ages; 6) Pagan Symbolism in Christian Art. Mr. Corning has collected the illustrations for these lectures with great pains, copying from original drawings, paintings and sculptures in the principal libraries, museums

and churches of the Old World. The idea is an ingenious one and the material can hardly fail to be instructive. Mr. Corning can be addressed in care of the U. S. Consulate, Munich, Bavaria.

The Study of Religions at Plymouth.—The School of Applied Ethics at its fourth session held at Plymouth, Mass., July 8–August 9, offers an attractive series of lectures in the History of Religions. Professor H. S. Nash, D.D., of the Cambridge Episcopal Theological School gives four lectures on “Tendencies of Thought in the Christian Church.” Rabbi David Philipson, D.D., of Cincinnati, discusses “The Reform Movement in Judaism,” and “Tendencies of Thought in Modern Judaism.” “Religion and Philosophy” is the theme of four lectures by Professor George T. Ladd, of Yale. His special topics are, The Nature of Religion, The Being of God, God and the World, The Nature of Man, The Destiny of Man. Another series of topics considers “Religion in Modern Literature.” Dr. H. L. Wayland and others lecture on “Church and State.” The secretary of the school is S. Burns Weston, 1305 Arch St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Piety in Mohammedanism.—It has been generally believed that Islam has fallen into a condition of apathy, decay and formalism which precludes the growth of genuine individual piety. This is a mistaken notion, as was pointed out by President Washburne in his careful comparison of Christianity and Mohammedanism presented at the Parliament of Religions. He read in connection with his paper a pathetic and devout poem of praise and worship to God composed by a Mohammedan woman. As a further illustration of the same element of devotion and piety, the following Mohammedan hymn, translated from the Hindu by Mr. F. J. Coffin of the University of Chicago, is here printed ;

Perfect art Thou, O Lord, in Thy Majesty.
 No one can number the works of Thy creation.
 Whatever is virtuous is inherent in Thy nature,
 And besides Thee, there is no helper.
 The petition of the transgressor ascends to Thee.
 O ! be pleased to hear my prayer
 And from the treasure-house of Thine excellence, do Thou enrich me.

It is all the more interesting to notice that this poem has been borrowed for use in Christian churches, being printed in “A Collection of Hymns for Divine Worship by Parsons and Christian ;” published by the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta.

New Histories of Religion.—The long announced book by Dr. Allan Menzies of the University of St. Andrews has just appeared. It is entitled “History of Religions ; a sketch of primitive religious beliefs and practices, and of the

origin and character of the great systems." It is published by Charles Scribner's Sons in the "University Series" and is a volume of 438 pages. There is no doubt that it is the most complete work we have in English at present. A full notice of the book will appear in a later issue of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

Principal G. M. Grant of Queen's University, Canada, has written a little book with the title "Religions of the World in relation to Christianity," in the series of Guild Text-books, published by Black of Edinburgh, and Randolph of New York. In 137 pages of small type he discusses the four great non-Christian religions, Mohammedanism, Confucianism, Hinduism and Buddhism, giving, first, an outline of their character and, second, enumerating the elements of their strength and weakness, with a comparison with Christianity expressed or implied. Much valuable and suggestive thought has been put into the book.

Professor Chantepie de la Saussaye whose "Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte" is the standard compendium upon the subject, authorizes the announcement that a second edition of this work is to be published in 1896-7 in which the parts that have already become antiquated will be revised and rewritten in collaboration with younger scholars of more special knowledge of the several parts. The new edition will be in one volume and omit the Phenomenological Division. This latter portion Professor de la Saussaye hopes to republish later in a separate volume in fuller form. At present he is engaged on a work in Teutonic Mythology for the series of religious manuals, edited by Professor Jastrow of Philadelphia.

Phallicism in Japan.—The thesis entitled "Phallicism in Japan" referred to above constitutes a real contribution to the history of religions, in that it firmly and fully establishes the fact of phallicism in a land where its presence had hitherto been known, and that but fragmentarily, to very few. Indeed, the cult of the *phallos* and *kteis*—Greek terms respectively for the male and female generative organs—though once widely spread abroad among men, has hitherto, in common with most other features of ethnic religion, been known to only a few specialists. The symbolism here employed for the divine source of all *increase*, while to us unspeakably coarse and even indecent, was to primitive man, and remains to myriads of contemporary men, the most natural and significant religious symbol devisable. In India alone an estimated number of thirty millions of the compound phallos-kteis forms to our own racial cousins the most familiar and cherished symbol of deity. In general, the Occident does not and never can know the Orient until it consents to study Oriental religion, among the very varied viewpoints of which phallicism is one of the most instructive just because so far removed from nations and sentiments which have among us become pervasive. The pamphlet is on sale only at The University of Chicago Press.

Synopses of Important Articles.

CHRIST AND THE OLD TESTAMENT. Conference address by DR. M. KÄHLER, of the University of Halle, and published in the *Chronik der Christlichen Welt*, Leipzig. No 21.

(1) Christ has made the *Mikrah* (Canon) of the Jews a permanent factor in the history of mankind.

(2) This has resulted from the fact that this Canon was his Bible until his crucifixion (John 19: 28 ; Matth. 26: 46) and after his resurrection (Luke 24: 25, 26 ; 44, 45), and for that reason also became the Bible of his messengers in all the congregations established by them.

(3) The Old Testament collection of writings was one of the means prepared by God through which the Old Testament revelation became in reality a genuine essential in the development of the inner consciousness of Jesus Christ in the unfolding of the certainty of his Messianic calling, and in carrying out this principle as the object of his life's work. Especially did this Scripture serve him, in the midst of the Judaistic particularity of his age, to grasp in a vivid manner his earthly calling and to recognize the corresponding significance of his person.

(4) His messengers have utilized the Old Testament especially for the purpose of demonstrating his Messianic character and work. In this respect prominence is given to this, that Jesus as the Messiah, *i. e.*, as the Mediator between God and man, can be understood only on the basis of the Old Testament development. This development, however, becomes a permanent factor only in its last results, namely, in the Old Testament collection as a whole. In this way this book or its contents continues to be a presupposition for the faith in Jesus as the Messiah. Without the Old Testament Christ and his mission will surely be misinterpreted.

(5) Neither Jesus nor his disciples were through scientific research or other means prepared for, nor did they concern themselves in any way or manner about, the investigation of their Bible as the source of Israel's national religion. Rather they read this book as the revelation of the Father of the Lord Jesus Christ. They accordingly do not interpret it from the standpoint of the original author, in accordance with the historical principle, but solely in the light of God's fulfilment. The Old Testament for the Messiah-believers is the Scriptures in which God's Spirit or the Spirit as the Messiah testifies of his sufferings and his glory (1 Pet. 1 : 11), which is the sum and substance of the revelation of God (Gal. 3:8, 22), and in which the experiences of the men and the people of God are recorded, not for historical purposes, but for the ben-

eft of those who shall live in later days (Rom. 4:24; 1 Cor. 10:11). They estimate and judge of the contents of their Bible from the standpoint of the Gospel.

(6) The Old Testament collection is thus a part of the church's canon. This dignity is accredited to it (a) as a body of traditional revelations, (b) interpreted from a Christian standpoint. The "Christian" interpretation of the Old Testament is thus not "unhistorical" absolutely, but at most "unhistorical on the basis of the historical principle of interpretation" (*seitgeschichtlich ungeschichtlich*). It is historical from a higher standpoint (*im grossen Stil*). This point of view excludes the idea that Jesus presupposed the verbal inspiration of the Old Testament as this is also excluded by the various gospel traditions in the New Testament.

(7) We confess the divinity of Christ, who, however, in his days of humility assumed the form of a servant. Until his death, in work and favor he was the "Elect Jehovah." During this period, with the exception of his sinlessness, he claimed to differ from the prophets only in his knowledge (*Erkenntniss*) arising from his peculiar relation to the Father (Matt. 11:27 and the Fourth Gospel). If the divine nature in him submitted to all the limitations of the flesh in order to be like unto us (Heb. 2), why not then, too, to the limitations of the knowledge of such facts as can be discovered only through a regular course of continual research? His infallibility in revealing the Father does not arise from his secular knowledge, but his infallible judgment concerning the affairs of the world originated in his perfect knowledge of the Father. If some of his statements concerning matters of history and of nature turn out on investigation to be incorrect, this can invalidate the truth of his word as little as the dogma concerning creation, which has become a different one since it has been found that the world is round and not flat.

(8) Of Christ's statements concerning the Old Testament we have only samples (Luke 24:27, 45 sq.). We accordingly cannot conclude as to his literal usage of the Old Testament.

(9) In matters of history and literary estimate concerning the Old Testament Christ nowhere departs from the current thought of his age. He did not criticise their views nor correct them. This is important for this reason, because he, as far as the contents are concerned, concedes to it decisive authority. Accordingly his method of viewing the Old Testament cannot come into conflict with the application of the historical principle.

(10) The New Testament references to the facts of the Old Testament pertain to the largest degree to prehistoric times, *i. e.*, to times concerning which we have no historical data outside of the Old Testament itself. Of prehistoric times we cannot judge with scientific correctness until we have contemporaneous evidences.

(11) Jesus found the revelations of the Father not in human opinions concerning God and his will, but in the acts which he considered as God's acts.

In this regard he must be an authority for us. According to his days the Jews not only *thought* to know certain things but did actually *know* them. Cf. also Matt. 22. (We do not ask the secular historian to regard Adam and Eve and the patriarchs as scientifically settled facts. We ourselves accept the earliest traditions down to Moses. But we do so because the antitype guarantees to us the type (Rom. 5 : 14), and the revealed name of God guarantees the patriarchs, of whom the God who reveals himself is not ashamed).

(12) The historical method of studying the Old Testament has this service to render to the Church—to make her conscious that her establishment on the great historical facts of the Scriptures is independent of submission to purely human traditions or researches, which vary at all times.

(13) The purely historical method of studying the Old Testament taken alone must either acknowledge the insolvable mystery in Christ or it will misunderstand and misinterpret this mystery (2 Cor. 3 : 15, 16).

(14) Not the Jesus of this earth, but the perfected and preached Christ (Luke 24 : 46, 47), is the fulfilment of the Old Testament covenant, certifying to its contents and complementing these. The authority of the two portions of Scripture treating of him accordingly does not originate alone in the historical traditions concerning him, but is established on his work through his representative, the Paraclete.

The address has both a representative and an individual value. The author is a protagonist of that conservative school in Germany which believes that modern criticism has done some good work and that some concessions must be made to it. The discussion treats of the burning question in Protestant Germany and shows how a defender of a pronounced evangelical type of biblical study adapts some of the newer views to his positive convictions..

G. H. S.

FLORILEGIUM PHILONIS. By C. G. MONTEFIORE. *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1895, pp. 481-545.

I am not going to tell the ordinary things about Philo's life and environment, nor shall I attempt the slightest account of his philosophical system as a whole. My object is to pick out and arrange from the great mass of the Philonic writings certain salient thoughts and sentences worthy of notice. Philo borrowed many ideas from others, Greek philosophers. His doctrine of the Logos is based upon Heracleitean and Stoic teaching; in almost every part of his religious and ethical writings he is under obligations to the Greeks. Most of what we admire in Philo today is fundamentally Greek rather than Hebrew; Greek philosophy, colored, modified, transfigured by Hebraism. If Philo is often striking, it does not follow that he is helpful. It is in grand generalities that he excels; his ethical details are few and disappointing. He is deeply imbued with the characteristic yearnings of mysticism. He is always tremendously in earnest in his great quest, *viz.*, the knowledge of God.

With him it is a religious passion ; yet he seeks this knowledge by philosophic means, through metaphysics rather than through goodness ; and yet he is also convinced that God always will be unknowable, or rather known only in part. In Philo's mind we find the constant yearning to know God and the abiding conviction that he is essentially unknowable. The specific statements in the Pentateuch are allegories, except the *ethical* statements, which stand true as they are.

What then are Philo's ideas about God ? What strikes us above all is his doctrine of the divine ubiquity ; he is desperately anxious to maintain, and if possible, to explain at once the transcendence and the immanence of God. Though God remains immovable in his omnipresence, yet his power may be manifested with varying intensity in different plans. The omniscient Deity is naturally conceived as supremely perfect ; all sufficient to himself ; whatever is most desired and excellent in humanity is only fully realized in God.

Philo's God is not only a god of thought, as with Aristotle, but also a god of goodness, as shown in his creation of and relation to the world. This goodness is essentially ethical, equivalent to God's grace. He does, however, not venture to say that God created also what seems to us evil. He next discusses the theory of divine benefits and punishments, which latter are entrusted to certain subordinate ministers and agents. But this does not explain the problem of evil. More interesting is his theory that God's grace and his punishments are proportionate to the nature which has to enjoy the one or to suffer the other. In the creation of man God looked to the capacities of the recipient. The biblical anthropomorphisms are an accommodation to human weakness and human needs. These their cause, their purpose educational. Philo associates a low intellectual conception of the divine nature with an imperfect morality and an imperfect service of God. The passions and diseases of the soul are at once intellectual and moral. To Philo, no less than to the author of the Fourth Gospel, the two are inextricably blended together. As anthropomorphic beliefs are connected with the fear of God, so the love of God with the truer, more spiritual conception of the divine nature. Yet there is no absolute gulf or difference of kind between man and man. Lack of opportunity may often account for lack of visible excellence. Opportunity is, if not divine, at least the companion of Deity. Every kind of life may be dedicated to God. This is a corollary of his favorite theory, that all our faculties and powers, as well as our surroundings and possessions are the gift of God, and in no wise our own. He has an appreciation for the honest failure in the quest of highest good. The search for God is the life-work of man ; to reach the goal, there are two fundamental requirements : the first is repression of body, of pleasure, and imperfection, manifesting itself as error and wickedness ; the second is a particular kind of humility.

In Philo there lurks a measure of asceticism ; how much cannot be exactly determined. As God needs nothing, so the good man's needs should be few

and simple; this is to be near to God. Yet there is false as well as true asceticism; the former is niggardly and illiberal. The right use of external goods is highly commended. Licentiousness and intemperance should be put to shame by moderation and sobriety. Philo denounces the false Stoics and hypocritical ascetics. The service of man must in all cases precede the uninterrupted service of God. We must work our way through the "practical" life before we come to the life of contemplation; the contest of the one must precede the higher contest of the other. It is thus we can escape the charge of laziness and indifference.

The service of God is not identical with the service of man, but has a special sphere of its own; if noblest, it is also hardest. The perfectly virtuous are exclusive lovers of neither man nor God; they excel in both at one and the same time. In his more sober moments Philo recognizes the social nature of man. Man is a social animal by nature. He must live for and love the world and God, that of God he may be beloved.

In his statement on solitude and social intercourse Philo is rather inconsistent, because he cannot get over an abiding contempt for the multitude and their vices. Solitary wisdom of the rapt theosophist is higher than the gregarious wisdom of human action. But not always has he found solitude efficacious to thought.

In the ascetic ideal Philo is very wanting. No explanation of sorrow, no comfort in misfortune and misery in his writings. Here the Psalter, Epictetus and Seneca excel him by far. The life which depreciates the body and exalts the soul is true life.

We not only need a kind of life, but also a mental attitude; more precisely a particular kind of humility, primarily intellectual in its character, merging into and including moral humility; its opposite is self-conceit in the mental sphere and selfishness in the moral. The Stoics applied this self-conceit to the intellect only, Philo gives it a specially religious meaning. In this he differs from Epictetus and Seneca, their conceptions of God being different from his. Philo opposes the Stoic independence, that man is the son of God, because he is part of an omnipresent and undivided reason; to the Jew man is the child of God. The Stoic, true to his principles, does not acknowledge because he does not feel the need of direct aid from God to man. In this also Philo differs, he realizes the need of God's assistance; with this comes the prayer for it, and with the prayer the assurance of response. To the Stoics, man's independence, though in the last resort a gift, is yet strongly marked. Man must recognize his own divinity, and so find his salvation and his strength. To Philo the sense of man's dependence is never wanting. God gives to the individual as well as to the kind, and what he gives he can withhold. Self-conceit is the parent of forgetfulness, ingratitude, and self-love; only when you know yourself do you realize God. No religion without humility. No service of God without a sense of the nothingness of man. This humility does not involve fear, but rather confidence to supplicate God. Since everything

is the gift of God, we should use these gifts to good purpose. The ethical effects of humility are the right of our possessions and consolation over their eventual loss; the effects of self-conceit in these cases are licentiousness and grief.

The selfish man has a whole list of vices appended to his special fault; the man who "attributes all things to God" has all the virtues. Occasionally Philo alludes to repentance which indicates a possible passage from the category of evil to the category of good. Repentance can soothe conscience, that stern and unbribable judge. Conscience with Philo is primarily the "convicted." Against men's will it stings them into confession of their evil deeds; it is born with the birth of the soul, unsusceptible of wrong. Philo identifies conscience with the divine Logos. In one sense it is, as it were, the cause of sin, as well as the cause of well-doing, for without its presence in the soul no erroneous action could be deserving of blame, and sin would therefore be impossible. How is God within man? By virtue of his mind, every man's contains an impression, or fragment, or ray of the divine nature. The mind sharing the perfection in the universe, whenever it contemplates the cosmos, widens with the limits of the universe. Human reason is of divine origin; yet God only dwells in the souls of the good, shows his divine influence. This real divine influence, by the law of God's relation to his human kinsman, is granted to those who are fitted to receive it. There can be and there is, a scale of increasing divine immanence which culminates in inspiration. Again God helps man, both in moral effort and in the acquisition of knowledge, culminating in the knowledge of God himself. Teaching, training and nature must each have its proper share in the acquisition of virtue; all three must work together, although one factor may predominate. Man is given help by the divine Logoi who walk in the minds of those who are still not wholly cleansed of error and of sin, the divine thought. The Logos helps those who are akin, or inclined to virtue, and when it calls the soul to itself, freezes together its earthly and appetitive elements. In virtue, as in knowledge, God meets the sincere suppliant half way. He fertilizes virtue by sending the seed from heaven. The same office is also assigned to the Logos.

Philo is of the opinion that men have won a belief in God through what we now call the argument from design. His aim is to approach as near as he can to God as he is himself, apart from what he may be inferred to be from his works. Of course he admits that God cannot be comprehended; he is not even apprehensible by the mind, except only as to existence. As ruler and creator, God is stamped straightway as all-powerful and good; his two main names, Lord and God, typify his ruling and his goodness. A still higher aspect of God is that of the Logos, the reason of God in every phase and form of it that is discoverable or realizable by man. The apprehension of the Logos is the highest stage in the knowledge of God which is obtainable by ordinary man. Nevertheless God is above the Logos, and

there is a possible realization of him, which transcends all that even the Logos can suggest to us. Only a very chosen few can advance beyond the Logos. These are the inspired minds, such as Moses. It is to the "perfect" alone that "the first God" can be revealed. Inspiration, if given by God, must be prepared by man. Yet this highest condition of the mind is pure passivity; the human is blotted out to receive the divine.

There are two main attitudes of the mind with which God is regarded: fear and love, corresponding to the Deity's two fundamental powers. These together with the Logos (which is the first) are the first three of the six great divine powers. In man fear and love must be combined, or there should be that perfect love which knows honor, but is ignorant of fear. Yet higher than all these qualities in man are the knowledge and adoration of God for what he is. According to these should be man's religion. The highest attitude towards God, which corresponds with the highest conception of him, might perhaps be more rightly called adoration than love. Philo is quite sound and prophetic on the relation of outward form to true religion. Not that he wishes to break from forms. On the contrary he is a strong conservative. Just as we must be careful of the body, as the house of the soul, so must we give heed to the letter of the written law. He emphasizes the true relation of ritual to religion.

The service of God can only be that of praise; for God, unlike a human master, has no needs. It is the glorious distinction man has received above all other animals. Philo's conception of faith is equally high with his conception of God's worship. Faith is not the condition or beginning of virtue, but its goal; it is not opposed to knowledge; it involves trust; faith in the Creator implies, as its correlative, unfaith in the creation, unfaith in self. If the service of God brings with it a perfect faith, it also includes a perfect freedom. The service of God is sought for itself, and its rewards are spiritual. The more glorious the subject-matter of a command, the less need for external reward.

Some characteristics of Philo's conception of the highest life are these: Hope is the seed of which faith is the fruit. It is therefore the most characteristic quality of the human soul; the good life should be hopeful. A second characteristic of the perfect nature is joy, typified and symbolized in Isaac; true and genuine joy is only found in the virtues of the soul; the wise man rejoices only in himself, not in his environment. Therein joy differs from pleasure. A third characteristic of the noble life is peace; true peace is the prerogative of God and of the worshiper of God. It is on these high generalities of the ideal life that Philo is wont to dwell, and in these he most excels. In ethics neither student nor preacher will gather much from his pages.

Montefiore's exposition of Philo's teachings and philosophy is excellent indeed, and he who wishes fully to appreciate it must read the article as a whole. It is to be hoped that another, similar exposé on Josephus may soon follow this florilegium, which I am convinced, would find as eager readers as this present contribution.

W. M.-A.

THE SCOPE AND PLAN OF THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN. By PROFESSOR MILTON S. TERRY, in *The Journal of Biblical Literature*, Parts I. and II., 1894. Pages 91-100.

The author assumes the unity of the Apocalypse, and accepts the work as the genuine production of John, the disciple of Jesus. The mixture of Jewish and Christian elements, alleged by the recent hypotheses of Vischer, Voelter, Spitta, and others, is but the abundant appropriation of Old Testament imagery made by a Jewish-Christian disciple who had listened to the teaching of the Lord "as he sat on the Mount of Olives over against the temple" (Mark 13:3). The theme of the Apocalypse is identical with that of Jesus, as reported in Mark 13 and the parallels in Matthew and Luke, when, in answer to the disciples' question, he spoke of the sign of his coming and of the end of the age. Again and again the writer assures us that his revelation is of "things which must shortly come to pass." The mystery, propounded as a riddle in 13:18 and 17:9-11, is most easily explained by dating the book in the reign of Nero, and before the commencement of the war which ended with the overthrow of Jerusalem.

There is no teaching of our Lord more clearly recorded in the synoptic gospels than that the Son of Man was to come in his kingdom and glory before some of those who heard him speak should taste of death (Matt. 16:28, Mark 9:1, Luke 9:27). And unless the language of Matt. 24 and its parallels in Mark and Luke are an unfortunate patchwork of misleading statements, Jesus most positively declared that his coming on the clouds of heaven would accompany, or immediately follow, the woes of the ruin of Jerusalem. The ruin of the Jewish metropolis and temple was destined to mark the end of the pre-Messianic age, and the inauguration of a new dispensation of the kingdom of God. In strict accordance with this doctrine of Jesus, the great theme of the Apocalypse is announced in chap. 1:7, in language appropriated from Dan. 7:13 (cf. Matt. 24:30) and Zech. 12:10: "Behold he cometh with the clouds, and every eye shall see him, and they who pierced him, and all the tribes of the land shall mourn over him." This coming is about to take place, and the time is at hand. The scope of the Apocalypse of John is, therefore, the overthrow of apostate Judah and Jerusalem, and the consequent establishment of Christianity in the world. These things are set before us in great symbolic pictures, the imagery and language of which are appropriated almost wholly from the Hebrew Scriptures.

The book may be divided into two nearly equal parts, chaps. 1-11 and 12-22. Most præterist expositors make the catastrophe of the first part refer to the fall of Jerusalem, and that of the second part to the fall of pagan Rome. But the second part of this revelation is, like the first, a prophetic picture of the fall of apostate Judah, and the establishment of the new kingdom of Christ. As Joseph's dream of the sun, moon and stars making obeisance to him was in substance but a repetition of his previous dream of the sheaves in

in the field (Gen. 37:6-9); and as Pharaoh's double dream of the seven kine and the seven ears was repeated unto the king twice in order to deepen the impression and assure him that the thing was established of God and shortly to come to pass (Gen. 41:32), so the second part of the Apocalypse of John is but another presentation of the same subject as the first part. Chaps. 5-11 reveal the Lamb of God under various symbols, glorious in power, opening the book of divine mysteries, avenging the martyred saints and exhibiting the fearful judgments about to come upon the enemies of God. Everything is viewed as from the throne of the king of heaven, who sends forth his armies, destroys the murderers of his prophets and burns up their city (cf. Matt. 22:7). The second part reveals rather a picture of the church [the woman clothed with the sun, etc.] in conflict with infernal powers and worldly principalities, surviving all persecution, triumphing by the word of her testimony, and, after the fall of Babylon the harlot, appearing as the New Jerusalem, the wife of the Lamb, glorious in beauty and imperishable as the throne of God. Chaps. 1-11 therefore contain the Revelation of the Lamb, and chaps. 12-22 the Revelation of the Bride, the wife of the Lamb.

This theory of the Apocalypse differs from current expositions in several important particulars: (1) it recognizes, with the most explicit teaching of Jesus, that the fall of Jerusalem and its temple was the signal event which marked the end of the pre-Messianic age. The ministry of Christ in the flesh, and that of his apostles who founded the Christian church, fell within the latter days of the old dispensation. It was necessary for them to preach the gospel of the kingdom "in the whole world for a testimony unto all the nations" (Matt. 24-14) before the old cultus gave place to the new. The explanation of Matt. 24:14 as a prophecy of the evangelization of the world during the period of the kingdom of Christ, has been the source of error and confusion. (2) It holds that there are not two great cities which perish, but only one, which in this book is charged with the blood of saints and martyrs. "The great city" of 11:8 is specifically designated as the city where the Lord of the two witnesses was crucified. The two witnesses are best understood as representing the apostles and prophets, who preached the gospel as a witness unto the nations before the end. This great city, guilty of the blood of the witnesses (cf. Luke 13:33), is no other than the great Babylon, the mother of harlots, drunken with the blood of saints and martyrs, as described in chaps. 17 and 18. (3) The error of making this Babylon a symbol of Rome is manifest; it contravenes the analogy of biblical symbolism to portray a pagan city under the figure of a harlot; Rome was never in covenant relations with God so that a prophet could say of her as Isaiah (1:21) said of Jerusalem, "How is the faithful city become a harlot!" (cf. also Ezek. 16, 22, 23). Again, if the beast is the Roman Empire, as most expositors maintain, the harlot should be some other city than the metropolis of the empire, for how can it be truly said that any kings represented by the ten horns of that beast hated Rome and burned her utterly with fire (17:16)? For the kings or potentates

of the Roman Empire to destroy the city of the Tiber, as represented in these symbols, is both incongruous in thought and untrue in fact. Further, the notion that the "seven mountains on which the woman sitteth" (17:9) are the seven hills of Rome, the *septem colles* of the Latin writers, is a misleading fancy. So specific a designation would, in this connection, be scarcely in keeping with the demand made for "the mind that hath wisdom." The mountains are no more to be understood literally than the waters of vs. 1 and the scarlet-colored beast of vs. 3; for, according to the vision, the woman sits on many waters, on the beast, and on seven mountains. The four heads of Daniel's symbolic beast (Dan. 7:6) were not indicative of four hills on which a metropolis was builded. And lastly, the description of vs. 18, "the great city which has a kingdom over the kings of the land," may apply to Jerusalem as well as to Rome, for in 11:18 Jerusalem is the "great city," and in New Testament usage "kings of the land" is a phrase applied to such rulers as Herod and Pontius Pilate (Acts 4:26, 27). (4) It maintains that the angel of the abyss, named Abaddon and Apollyon in 9:11, is the same "as the beast that comes up out of the abyss" in 11:7 and kills the two witnesses. He is also the "great red dragon" of 12:3, "that old serpent, called the Devil and Satan," who "gave his power and his throne and great authority" to the beast that was seen to come up out of the sea. The great red dragon as well as the Roman world-power is, accordingly, to be recognized in the "scarlet-colored beast" on which the harlot was seen sitting (17:3); and in the enigmatical statement of 17:11, "the beast that was and is not" is evidently the same infernal spirit who is referred to in the eighth verse as "about to come up out of the abyss, and to go into perdition." The thought of the writer seems for the moment to be more upon the infernal "beast that cometh up out of the abyss" (cf. 11:7) than upon the empire which he appropriates for the persecution of the seed of the woman. Hence it is said that he "is himself also an eighth and is of the seven." Each successive emperor is conceived as an incarnation of the great red dragon. (5) It does away with the so-called "Nero-myth." (6) The one great catastrophe of both parts is the downfall of the great city which was for a thousand years the metropolis of the Jewish people. In the visions of John this great Babylon, drunken with the blood of saints, is seen to fall and give place to the coming and kingdom of him who is called Faithful and True, the Word of God, the King of kings, and Lord of lords. He is seen to triumph over all his foes, even over Death and Hades, and the consummation of his millennial reign is the descent of the New Jerusalem to the new earth, and the making of all things new.

New interpretations of the Apocalypse are always in order, and Professor Terry presents his exposition of the book after thorough study of Jewish apocalyptic literature and at a ripe period of scholarship. His exposition deserves the full abstract which is here given. That the theory is right in the general view of the book which it

takes may be asserted with some confidence. The præterist interpretation of the Apocalypse is (with Düsterdieck, Ewald, Farrar, Lücke, Maurice, Reuss, Stuart, Weiss, Weizsäcker, and others) to be preferred. The Revelation pertained to and realized its meaning in the Apostle's own age, in the destruction of Jerusalem and the condition of the Roman Empire of the first century; the prediction that Christ would then return, and the consummation of all things be brought about, was then unfulfilled because it rested upon the misconception which prevailed throughout the primitive church that the return of Christ would be in their own generation, and would immediately follow the overthrow of Jerusalem. So that the Revelation throws no light upon the future of Christianity other than that it will sometime triumph, and a new era of bliss will follow. This is only what we already knew from Christ. Even on the spiritual theory of the book, that it is a true predictive history of the church, giving a conspectus of the great epochs and the governing principles of the church in its development from the beginning to the end (the view of Godet, Lee, Randall, Simcox, Vaughan, Warfield, and others), Professor Milligan, its ablest English exponent, abandons any peculiar predictive element in the book, saying: "It [the Revelation] gives no knowledge of the future that is not given first by our Lord, and then by others of his inspired apostles." Professor Terry may or may not be right in his interpretation of the details of the book—that remains to be seen after the discussion which the above paper will awaken has issued in some consensus of opinion among scholars for or against the new view—but the important fact has received new emphasis that the Apocalypse of John does not give us any information about the future which the gospels do not give.

C. W. V.

Notes and Opinions.

The Life of Jesus Prior to His Public Ministry.—Professor Godet's article upon this subject in the *Thinker* for May deserves attention. The fact of the divine preëxistence, he says, which was so clearly revealed by the testimony of Jesus himself and by the teaching of his apostles, is for us as undesirable as that of his real humanity. But Jesus did not himself become conscious of this sublime fact until the testimony of God was given at his baptism: "Thou art my well-beloved son." In that hour was his true relation with the Father fully revealed to him. His development may rightly, therefore, be studied, up to that period of his life, from a purely human point of view. A truly human childhood and youth had been impossibilities if the deep mystery which formed the background of his earthly existence had been unveiled to him sooner. It could not then have been said of him that "He was made like unto his brethren, yet without sin." From the soul of Jesus, by reason of his exceptional origin, the principle of sin was altogether absent. Save on this one point, we are authorized by the Scriptures in considering the boy Jesus as cast in the same mold as all the other children of men. He came into the world with a body like to our own, but to which the soul never yielded obedience. The words of Jesus to his parents when he visited Jerusalem at the age of twelve cannot be assumed to contain the deep meaning of the later "My Father," expressing the consciousness of his eternal relationship with God. But he appears at that time to have felt that this filial bond of which he has become conscious exists, in so intense a degree, for his heart alone. This consciousness of a difference between himself and the rest of mankind arose from his observation that those around him did not live in the same close intimacy with God as he himself did. The element of sin was present in their lives and not in his. A mission already dawns before him—a mission which shall consist in an entire conservation of himself to the cause of God, in the midst of a world separated from him. The short sojourn in the holy city had made of the child a thorough Israelite. The eighteen years which were about to follow in the monotonous and essentially human life at Nazareth would make of him a thorough man.

The Angels of the Seven Churches.—The question whether these "angels" of the Revelation are to be understood as bishops is answered in the negative by Professor H. M. Gwatkin in the *Expository Times* for June. The reasons which he gives are (1) if the book generally is figurative, the "angels" are not likely to be literal. (2) they are identified with their churches in a way no bishop can be; (3) if the Apocalypse belongs to the ueronian persecution,

the revolution in church government in the few years since Paul wrote could hardly be accounted for without a divine command, and if this had been given, we should see history taking a very different course.

The Lord's Supper.—A thorough discussion of the origin and significance of the Lord's Supper by Professor Kattenbusch of Giessen appears in a condensed form in the *Thinker* for June. First, as to the permanence of the rite. The theologians who do not admit that Paul's testimony in 1 Cor. 11: 24, "Do this in remembrance of me," proves Christ's use of the words, also hold that it is a matter of indifference whether Christ instituted the ordinance and intended it to be perpetual, or not, as the church has been rightly guided in its observance. The spirit who was to teach the disciples many things inwardly moved them to establish a commemorative act. Are not the words, "Do this in remembrance of me," really doubtful? Only Paul relates them. Matthew (26: 26 ff.) and Mark (14: 22 ff.) have nothing of the kind. Luke (22: 19) supplies the same words, at least in regard to the bread. But it is conceded by the most judicious inquirers that here a later interpolation is possible; in any case there is reason to suppose that Luke leans only on Paul, and is not an independent witness. Are we not justified in leaving it an open question whether the Lord ordained the repeating of the act or not? I so far concede the right of this view, that I do not accuse those who hold it of indifference or presumption. Only I do not think that they are right. Paul is without doubt the oldest witness on the subject. He was not himself present at the Supper, and the reminiscence of it handed on to him might have been influenced by the already established observance of the Supper as a memorial rite. But Paul could easily have ascertained the facts about it, and there is every reason to believe that his account is thoroughly trustworthy. But, how, then, do we explain the silence of the gospels? I believe that we should dispense with an explanation, and fall back on the position that the consideration of possibilities is unprofitable. The gospels are in no sense complete histories; they often only intimate, and clearly assume that the churches for which they were composed needed only a voucher for their recollections. This is evident in Mark, and especially in the account of the Supper. He is here so brief that he seems to be merely noting the chief facts. What difficulty is there in supposing that he, and Matthew after him, and Luke, observing the custom of breaking of bread, and seeing nowhere any doubt that the Lord himself really ordained the custom, merely set down what was necessary to explain the Lord's action?

Secondly, as to the Lord's outward and inward situation at the institution of the Supper. We must concede that no certainty is possible respecting the day. According to the first three gospels, the Lord kept the Passover with his disciples, and instituted the Supper then. The Gospel of John supposes that Jesus did not keep the Passover, but was crucified early on the day when the Jews celebrated it. It seems to me unmistakable that here is a simple

contradiction. I know no satisfactory explanation. For myself, I cannot help thinking that John is right. The inward situation, with reference to the general state of feeling in which the Lord met death, presents more difficulty. Jülicher thinks that Christ could not have intended a perpetual commemoration because he expected soon to return. This is a difficult question; but he certainly said that he knew not the day or the hour (Mark 13:32), and we hear other words intimating that much must take place between his life and the end of the world. I could never convince myself that the Lord said that the completion of God's kingdom was to be expected at once. He did not say this, while he did not say the opposite. He left the possibility open that, according to human judgment, the end might be far off or might come soon. Thus, on the one side, he exhorted to watchfulness and constant readiness; and on the other, to patient waiting. The event has shown that the end was not near. We must not say that the Lord foresaw this, nor yet that he erred. Both phrases show little understanding of the way in which the Lord thought and spoke. He spoke of the things of the last days as a prophet, not as a thinker or inquirer. He did not calculate; he did not forget that everything has its time; but this is the least thing to him. In view of his entire life, it would be unquestionably wrong to say that he thought of a development of his Church through thousands of years. He was not so "historical" in spirit; before his spiritual vision clearly lay the kingdom of his Father, which will and must come, whose dawn began to shine when he himself came into the world, for whose completion everything is prepared.

Thirdly, the Supper as a standing memorial of the Lord's dying. The Lord might be sure that his disciples would not forget him; but a general remembrance is not enough—they were to remember his *death*. They might, in the lapse of time, come to remember only the glory of Christ—to look upward and forward with the eye of faith and hope. But by the Lord's will they were also to look backward, not to regard his earthly life and his death as something merely past. Here lies the mystery of the Supper. I regard it as the surest of facts that by his action Jesus intended to set his death before his disciples' eyes in its necessity and abiding significance. We cannot be absolutely sure what words the Lord uttered when he broke the bread and gave the cup; but it is intelligible that not so much the several words, as rather the action and the manner, abode in the memory of the disciples. In essentials the accounts are one. This should suffice us.

"Born of Water and the Spirit," James 3:5. — Professor Briggs, in his *Messiah of the Gospels*, interprets this passage as follows: The kingdom of God is, in its initiation, an invisible kingdom, which only comes gradually into manifestation. In the visible kingdom, as it appears in this world, there are tares mingled with the wheat, bad fish mixed in the same net with the good; and the separation cannot take place until the judgment divides the kingdom of grace from the kingdom of glory. Into the invisible kingdom can enter only

those who become poor and childlike, in the figurative language of the synoptic Gospels, or become "born from above," in the figurative language of the Fourth Gospel. The special difficulty in the verse is the meaning of the "born of water." It is disputed whether this refers to the water of baptism, or whether water is anything more than the Old Testament symbol of the pouring out of the divine Spirit. The oldest and most natural interpretation is to refer the water to the water of baptism. John the Baptist had made this institution the means of preparation for the kingdom of God. Jesus himself and his apostles had all been baptized with water, Jesus in the apostolic commission gives baptism and faith as requirements for salvation. The regeneration of this passage is a double one, by water and by Spirit. Both are necessary in order to enter the kingdom of God. Water alone does not regenerate or admit to the kingdom. Such a baptism may admit to the visible kingdom as an external organization, but no more. Bad fish may pass through the waters of baptism as well as good fish. No identification of the water and Spirit baptisms is here taught. The birth from heaven by the Spirit is essential — no one can enter the kingdom without it, but it is insufficient, for water baptism is also required. If the two baptisms may be separated in time and place, then the two baptisms are required at these different times and places. Jesus does not tell us here whether they may be separated or not. The peril of the theological speculations which may here arise should not deter us from following Jesus in his teaching that regeneration by baptism is necessary, as well as regeneration by the divine Spirit. Regeneration by water admits to the external organization of the visible kingdom. Regeneration by the Spirit admits to the spiritual kingdom itself. Regeneration by water ought not to be omitted, however unimportant it may be in comparison with regeneration by the Spirit. For baptism by water is necessary for their entrance into the kingdom of God in this world. This sacrament is the one appointed by Jesus for that purpose. It is in his mind here. There is no other lawful mode of entrance into the organization of the kingdom as it exists in this world. But it is not a just inference from these words of Jesus that all are excluded from the grace of God who do not have this birth from water. They are excluded from the Messianic kingdom of grace as set up in this world. But the salvation of men in its elementary form is carried on by the grace of God outside the kingdom of the church.

Work and Workers.

AN effort is being made in Germany to establish a uniform system for the transcription or transliteration of Oriental words into modern tongues. The German Oriental Society, with the coöperation of similar bodies elsewhere has recently published a scheme for such a system, and the society at its next meeting in Leipzig in October, will decide whether the system recommended by its committee shall be adopted. If so, it will probably go into international use.

A NOTE in the *Independent* for June 6 gives a summary of the conclusions reached by Professor Seeberg, of Erlangen, in his recently published investigation of the Apology of Aristides. He regards the Syriac text of the Apology, which was discovered by Professor J. R. Harris in the Mt. Sinai cloister, as the best text. He shows the Apology makes extensive use of the New Testament and other early Christian literary sources. There is to him a clear influence of the Pastoral Epistles and the Gospel of John. Of the extra-canonical literature of the earliest period it is only possible that the First Epistle of Clement was used, while it is very probable that the Shepherd of Hermas was known to the writer. The evidence for the use of the Didache is still stronger. The dependence of the author on the Kerygma Petri appears throughout, as also upon the Apology preserved in Syriac under the name of Melitos. Professor Seeberg concludes that the Apology of Aristides was presented to Antoninus Pius, and was written about 140 A. D.

A TRUSTWORTHY and useful article upon "The Jews in Jerusalem and Palestine," written by Dr. Selah Merrill, former United States Consul at Jerusalem, appeared in the *Sunday School Times* for June 8. So many estimates of the population in question have been published, varying greatly and sometimes naming impossible numbers, that it is well to have the matter set right. Dr. Merrill has made the most complete, careful and impartial estimate possible. The English and French consuls at Jerusalem made independent estimates about the same time, and the results of all these investigations were approximately the same. For Jerusalem they were respectively 25,000, 25,322, and 27,000 Jews. The total population of Jerusalem is given by Baedeker (1894) as 40,000, and by any reasonable method of computation it cannot exceed 47,000, made up of 8000 Christians, 12,000 Mohammedans, and 27,000 Jews. Outside of Jerusalem Jews are found only in Acre, Haifa, Hebron, Jaffa, Nablous, Ramleh, Safed and Tiberias—in all 15,131, and in the colonies 2,800, which, with the middle estimate of the Jewish residents of Jerusalem, would make 43,253 Jews in Palestine. A few years ago extra-

gant, sensational reports were circulated, telling of the enormous numbers of Jewish immigrants arriving in Palestine. In July, 1891, the Turkish government issued an order forbidding the immigration of Jews into Palestine, and since that date very few have arrived, and the number in Jerusalem has not increased. Dr. Merrill does not think that the welfare of the Jews can be advanced by the current exaggerations of their numbers in Palestine, put into circulation at the start in order to induce Jews to emigrate thither.

FOLLOWING the letter of Professor Flinders Petrie to the London *Academy* of April 20, in which he announced the discovery in Egypt of relics of a before unknown race, the *Record* contained this comment: "Professor Flinders Petrie must now be acknowledged as the undoubted leader of the younger school of English Egyptologists, and it must also be owned that he has gained this position for himself by dint of hard and continuous work, and by a judicious exercise of his powers of organization. Mr. Petrie writes books, trains disciples, excavates, superintends the excavations made by others, and organizes exhibitions and meetings in furtherance of the science to which he has devoted himself. His works already nearly fill a column in the catalogue of the British Museum. He is at present engaged in writing a *History of Egypt*, which will tell us all that is known of the land and its people from the earliest times. We know the interest he took in the unearthing of that wonderful ancient library which is now known by the name of the Tell-el-Amarna tablets, and his recent little book entitled *Egyptian Tales, Translated from the Papyri*, has also been read with a considerable amount of interest by many. But all his past exploits have suddenly been eclipsed by the announcement just made by him that an entirely new race has been discovered in Egypt by the joint researches of himself and of Mr. Quibell, who works under the auspices of the "Egyptian Research Account." There is absolutely no doubt about the main facts of the discovery. The newly unearthed remains and implements differ entirely from all that is known of the Egyptians themselves. "Their pottery," to use Mr. Petrie's own words, "their statuettes, their beads, their mode of burial, are all unlike any other in Egypt; and not a single usual Egyptian scarab, or hieroglyph, or carving, or amulet, or bead, or vase, has been found in the whole of the remains in question." It is at present supposed that these newly-found archæological treasures belong to about the year 3000 B.C., but no one is as yet able to tell who these people were. Is it a Semitic race we are suddenly called upon to deal with, or were they of an Aryan stock? Did they enter Egypt from some other part of Africa, or did they come across the sea? We shall, no doubt, ere long have a handsome volume in our hands, adorned with numerous illustrations, which will at any rate try to answer these as well as various other questions that might be asked.

THE discovery of a new patristic fragment is announced by Professor Haussleiter, of Greifswald, in the *Theologisches Literaturblatt* for April 26.

And an article upon the discovery from the pen of Professor J. Rendel Harris appeared in the *Expositor* for June, from which we now gather the main facts of interest. The discovery was made by Professor Haussleiter in his work upon the new edition of Victorinus for the Vienna Corpus of Latin Fathers, and consists of the closing portion of the commentary of Victorinus in the original form, apparently with no corrections, from the hand of Jerome, and with abundant Chiliastic references and arguments. The manuscript which furnishes the new material is understood to be in the Vatican Library (Codex Ottobrianus latinus 3288 A). It is well known that in the first centuries of the Christian Church there was a steady succession of teachers, amongst whom will be found some of the most renowned and venerated names, who held the doctrine of the millennial reign of Christ with his saints on earth. But almost all the Chiliastic library of the early church has disappeared. Of the elders who followed St. John we know nothing; their great book of *Gnosis* is not extant. Papias is only known by an extract or two; Nepos of Arsinoe, who wrote the *Confutation of the Allegorists in Defence of Chiliasm*, has disappeared also; and the commentary of Victorinus of Pettau, in the close of the third century, is only current in the reform dress which Jerome gave it, of which presentation Chiliasm is no feature, though we know from Jerome's own confession that Victorinus was a Chiliast, and therefore could not have commented on the Apocalypse without disclosing his true opinions. So that is a matter of great satisfaction that even a portion of the commentary of Victorinus in its original Chiliastic form has come to the light. The text is very corrupt and belongs to the fifteenth century. Professor Haussleiter calls attention to the fact that in this revered fragment we are face to face with earlier material borrowed from either Papias or the book of the Elders. The prospect of a closer acquaintance with the proof-texts and arguments of Chiliasm gives hopes that more light will be thrown upon the history and the party lines of the earlier church. Another point of information given by the fragment is to the effect that Victorinus had a different interpretation of the four living creatures in the cherubic chariot from that which was current in Western MSS. and Fathers; the four creatures prefigure the four evangelists, but the order is Matthew, John, Mark, Luke, an order which may turn out to have been the primitive order. And the identification of the four evangelists with the four faces of the Cherubim has the appearance of coming from an older and earlier stratum than the writings of Irenæus, in which case the quadriform character of the gospels must have been recognized before his time. Professor Harris adds that the importance of these things will not be overlooked by scholars.

ANNOUNCEMENT is made as to the authorship of the various volumes of the *International Critical Commentary*, edited by Professors Driver, Plummer, and Briggs, as follows: *Genesis*, by the Rev. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Oriel Professor of the Interpretation of Holy Scripture, Oxford. *Exodus*, by the

Rev. A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, University of Edinburgh. *Leviticus*, the Rev. H. A. White, M.A., Fellow of New College, Oxford. *Numbers*, G. Buchanan Gray, B.A., Lecturer in Hebrew, Mansfield College, Oxford. *Deuteronomy*, the Rev. S. R. Driver, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, Oxford. *Joshua*, the Rev. George A. Smith, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Glasgow. *Judges*, the Rev. George Moore, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, Andover Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. *Samuel*, the Rev. H. P. Smith, D.D., late Professor of Hebrew, Lane Theological Seminary, Cincinnati, Ohio. *Kings*, the Rev. Francis Brown, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Cognate Languages, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. *Isaiah*, the Rev. A. B. Davidson, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Hebrew, Free Church College, Edinburgh. *Jeremiah*, the Rev. A. F. Kirkpatrick, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. *Minor Prophets*, W. R. Harper, Ph.D., President of The University of Chicago, Illinois. *Psalms*, the Rev. Charles A. Briggs, D.D., Edward Robinson Professor of Biblical Theology, Union Theological Seminary, New York. *Proverbs*, the Rev. C. H. Toy, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. *Daniel*, the Rev. John P. Peters, Ph.D., late Professor of Hebrew, P. E. Divinity School, Philadelphia, now Rector of St. Michael's Church, New York City. *Ezra and Nehemiah*, the Rev. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., Professor of Hebrew, P. E. Divinity School, Philadelphia. *Chronicles*, the Rev. Edward L. Curtis, D.D., Professor of Hebrew, Yale University, New Haven, Conn. *Mark*, the Rev. E. P. Gould, D.D., Professor of New Testament Exegesis, P. E. Divinity School, Philadelphia. *Luke*, the Rev. Alfred Plummer, D.D., Master of University College, Durham. *Acts*, the Rev. Frederick H. Chase, D.D., Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge. *Romans*, the Rev. William Sanday, D.D., Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis, Oxford; and the Rev. A. C. Headlam, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. *Corinthians*, the Rev. Arch. Robertson, D.D., Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall, Durham. *Galatians*, the Rev. Ernest D. Burton, A.B., Professor of New Testament Literature, University of Chicago. *Ephesians*, the Rev. T. K. Abbott, B.D., D.Lit., formerly Professor of Biblical Greek, Trinity College, Dublin. *Philippians*, the Rev. Marvin R. Vincent, D.D., Professor of Biblical Literature, Union Theological Seminary, New York City. *The Pastoral Epistles*, the Rev. Walter Lock, M.A., Fellow of Magdalen College, and Tutor of Keble College, Oxford. *Hebrews*, the Rev. T. C. Edwards, D.D., Principal of University College, Wales. *Revelation*, the Rev. Robert H. Charles, M.A., Trinity College, Dublin, and Exeter College, Oxford.

Engagements for the making of the remaining volumes not here specified will be announced soon.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

GENERAL NOTES.

Early reports from the Summer Bible Schools are very encouraging. At the Chautauqua Assembly at Ottawa, Kans., the enthusiasm was great. The lectures were attended by audiences varying from two hundred to four hundred in number regularly, and the popular addresses were made to much larger numbers.

At Winfield, Kans., a like interest prevailed.

At Chautauqua, N. Y., the work is entirely class work and therefore the number is somewhat smaller, but it is possible to make the work much more thorough and profitable than in the case of lectures. About two hundred people are studying the English Bible at that place, and a dozen or more are doing thorough work in the New Testament Greek and the Hebrew. It is still too early to receive reports from other schools.

The Institute was represented at the Christian Endeavor Convention in Boston by the Field Secretary, Rev. S. H. Willett, and by a full display of the literature pertaining to the popular courses.

With July first a new series of Institute Studies on the subject of the International Sunday School lessons was commenced in the *Sunday School Times*. As it is more difficult for Sunday School teachers to find helpful material on the Old Testament than on the New Testament this series will be especially welcome.

All persons interested in any of the great Christian organizations of the day in whose work Bible study is a factor, are requested to place themselves in correspondence with the Institute in order that the literature concerning the work for the coming year may be sent them. The address of the office is Hyde Park, Chicago, Ill. The popular reading and study courses commence October 1, but clubs and chapters should be organized in August and September. The correspondence courses in Hebrew, New Testament Greek and the English Bible may be commenced at any time. Lecture courses and local Institutes for the Autumn and Winter are now being arranged.

With the September number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD* the suggestions to members of the Bible Students Reading Guild will be resumed.

Book Reviews.

Ausserecanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien. Erstes Heft: Textkritische und Quellenkritische Grundlegungen, 1893. Zweites Heft: Paralleltexte zu Matthaeus und Marcus. Gesammelt und untersucht von ALFRED RESCH, 1894.

As these parts are to be followed by others dealing with the Gospels of Luke and John and the Acts of the Apostles and closing with a statement of the total result arrived at in the course of these investigations; and as this work is to be succeeded by another on "Canonical Parallels," it would be obviously unfair to attempt a critical examination at present. The actual value of this wonderfully learned and laborious effort to contribute to the solution of the synoptic problem can only be rightly estimated when the whole can be passed in review. Meanwhile some account of the methods pursued by Dr. Resch and a brief statement of a few of his conclusions thus far are quite legitimate, and will no doubt be welcome to many who cannot consult the original, and to others who find it impossible to give the time and thought requisite for the intelligent study of these fascinating but unusually exacting volumes. The work was foreshadowed in 1889 by the remarkable book best known as *Agrapha* but also entitled *Extracanonical Gospel Fragments*, which was intended to be the forerunner of this far more extended inquiry. (See BIBLICAL WORLD, April, 1894.) It is maintained that the synoptic Gospels have underlying them an earlier document giving great prominence to our Lord's teaching which is most conveniently designated the *Ur-Evangelium*. It was written in a Semitic language, according to Dr. Resch in Hebrew, according to Professor Marshall in Aramaic. This detail however is admitted to be of minor importance although nevertheless considerable stress is laid on it at times in the course of the argument. Translations into Greek of this *Ur-Evangelium* (or of parts of it) were early made. Traces have been found, in our author's judgment, of three. One was used (if not composed) by the Jewish Christian who wrote our Gospel according to Matthew. Another, more Hellenic in its cast was used by Luke and Paul, the former knowing also and sometimes citing the earlier version. A third, still further removed from the Semitic original, is called the Alexandrian, being represented in the writings of Clement of Alexandria, in the Rainer papyrus, and other Alexandrian authorities. The Codex Bezae which is regarded as the one precanonical manuscript among the great uncials (that is, the one which presents a text prior to the last revision of the canon made in the fourth century) is believed, especially in the Gospel of Luke, to exhibit a

recension influenced by the first of these three versions of the *Ur-Evangelium*. Now in this codex, in the early translations of the Gospels, in the Diatessaron, in the New Testament Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, in ancient liturgies and in patristic literature, there is a huge mass of variations from the canonical text. Many of these of course are worthless, but, when all due allowance has been made for careless quoting from memory and intentional perversion, there remains a mass of material which in the opinion of Dr. Resch who has collected and sifted the evidence with far greater care than any previous inquirer, points at the direct or indirect use of an extracanonical document that can hardly be anything but the *Ur-Evangelium*. Multitudes of these variations, it is argued, can be accounted for on the assumption of a Hebrew original which could be rendered into Greek in several ways. With the help of these our author endeavors to trace the *Ur-Evangelium* in the first and second Gospels. In 226 sections of varying length, as many passages, some comprising a verse or several verses, others only part of a verse or a single clause, are studied in this way. In some instances the parallels are very few. If only one has been discovered it is registered if of moment. In others they are many and diverse. The famous text, for instance, "Thou art Peter," etc. (Matt. 16:18), is illustrated by twenty-two references, most of which are cited in full; the words, "Think not I came to destroy the law or the prophets: I came not to destroy but to fulfil" (Matt. 5:17), by 25. Among the ancient authorities most freely used are the Clementine Homilies and the Apostolic Constitutions. The Rainer papyrus, the text of which it is thought may have been taken from the Gospel according to the Egyptians is utilized as far as it goes; and also the lately discovered Pseudo-Petrine fragment, the Docetic origin of which is clearly demonstrated. The passages referred to the *Ur-Evangelium* are often translated into Hebrew to show how the variations arose. In not a few cases the parallels are believed to indicate omission or dislocation in the canonical text of matter taken from the *Ur-Evangelium*. In the Lord's words to Peter mentioned above (Matt. 16:18), Dr. Resch finds an alteration subsequent to the formation of the first Gospel canon which he puts at or about 140 A. D. He shows by many references that there is no distinct trace of the passage as it stands in our oldest uncials in the whole Christian literature of the second century. The value of these 226 notes (several of which however rise to the dignity of dissertations) of course varies greatly. Dr. Resch himself admits the possible rejection of half his variants as mere synonyms; but is convinced that even then enough material remains for other inquirers to work up into fresh solutions of the problem. As to the extent of the *Ur-Evangelium* he goes further than Dr. Weiss, with many of whose views he heartily coincides, believing that his contributions to the discussion of the synoptic problem have not yet been duly appreciated by theologians. Instead of ending abruptly (as Dr. Weiss maintains) with the anointing at Bethany, the document included the passion, the resurrection and the great commission. One of the most striking and interesting portions of the book is the examination of the last five

verses of the first Gospel (Matt. 28:16-20). This grand paragraph (with the exception perhaps of a clause or two) is all but proved to be a fragment, possibly a condensed fragment, of the *Ur-Evangelium*. Especially important and impressive is the demonstration of the antiquity of the trinitarian baptismal formula, and of its use in all circles orthodox or heretical in the early church. Never before, it may be safely asserted, has the subject been treated so fully and so ably. These twenty-nine pages containing as many as 104 quotations from ancient Christian literature are quite as worthy of separate publication as the much slighter, though very valuable note on the last twelve verses of Mark. (See summary in the BIBLICAL WORLD for December, 1894.) On the origin of the first two Gospels our author's views are as follows: The Gospel of Mark, the priority of which is considered to have been proved, was a collection of texts taken from the *Ur-Evangelium*, explained by sayings from the same source removed from their original context and completed by Petrine reminiscences. By his manipulation of his materials Mark produced a new setting of the Gospel story. The evidence of John the presbyter preserved by Papias is confirmed, thinks Resch again following Weiss by modern research. There are four points of correspondence between critical results and the presbyter's statements: (1) The influence of Peter's reminiscences; (2) selection of materials; (3) The effort at detailed description; (4) deviation from the original order. The Gospel according to Matthew, which is carefully distinguished from the Hebrew Gospel of Matthew mentioned by some of the fathers, is supposed to contain elements from at least five sources. The two principal authorities were the Gospel of Mark, which has been used almost in its entirety, and the *Ur-Evangelium*. Resch follows Weiss in the conclusion that, with the exception of a few small pieces, the whole content of Mark has passed into Matthew, the arrangement in both cases being the same. The direct influence of the *Ur-Evangelium* is seen principally in the didactic portion of the first Gospel, although the influence of Mark can be recognized even here. Very great importance is attached to the doublets, or cases in which a saying of our Lord's is given twice by the first evangelist, once as it stood in the *Ur-Evangelium* itself, another time from Mark's context and usually with his setting. "These doublets are the surest signs of the correctness of the two-source theory, the A, B, C of synoptic criticism." Besides these primary authorities there are several others which may be called secondary. The first and second chapters point back to the Semitic document independent of the *Ur-Evangelium*. Its title probably survives in the opening words of the Gospel which seem to refer not to the whole book but only to its first two chapters: "The book of the generations of Jesus Christ the Son of David the son of Abraham." Another secondary source (or pair of sources) is described as Petrine and connected with Jerusalem. This includes the story of Peter's walking on the water (Matt. 14:28-31), the anecdote about the payment of the tribute money (Matt. 17:24-27), the verses referring to the suicide of Judas, and some other portions of the narrative about the passion and the resurrection.

The hand of the compiler or redactor of the Gospel is seen in the twelve quotations from the Old Testament, each of which begins with "that it might be fulfilled which was said by the Lord through the prophet saying," or some similar form. In one short passage (Matt. 19:10-12) Essene coloring can be recognized. Whatever may be thought of the theories advocated in this book the unfinished character of which must be constantly remembered, it is a wonderful storehouse of materials, many of which are curious and not a few precious; and the accumulation and orderly arrangement of them constitute a noble piece of work for which all scholars ought to be deeply grateful. Had Dr. Resch done no more he would have rendered a signal service to students of the Gospels. But he has done much more. He has thrown out many fruitful suggestions, some of which are of great interest to the exegete as well as the textual critic. Note for instance the curious study on the meaning of the word "Galilee" in Matt. 28:6, the remarks on the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, and the instructive examination of the Manichean version of the parable of the wheat and tares preserved by Epiphanius. The second of the two parts under review is a valuable adjunct to the commentaries as well as an important addition to the works attempting to solve the riddle of the synoptic Gospels. A little more charity towards the one other student who is grappling with it in substantially the same manner, Professor Marshall, of Manchester, would have been welcome to those who believe that the Englishman is an accomplished and diligent scholar as well as Dr. Resch. It is not quite fair to refer to Mr. Allen's articles in the *Expositor* as showing that Professor Marshall made an incorrect application of Aramaic without any allusion to the reply. If Dr. Resch has not seen that reply, or wrote before it appeared, he ought to have withheld his criticism. Mutual appreciation and tolerance are eminently desirable in a field of research where thorough workers from the nature of the case are very few.

W. T. S.

Studien zur Topographie des nördlichen Ost-Jordanlandes. Von DR. FRANTS BUHL. P. 20.

The most interesting part of these notes on the country bounded on the west by the Jordan and the Lake of Gennesaret, on the north by Hermon and the Plain of Damascus, on the east by the wilderness and on the south by Gilead, is the discussion of the site of Ashteroth Karnaim. Professor Buhl favors the site recommended by Leake, el Muzerib, a place a few miles to the south of the Yarmuk, which has long been the seat of a large and important fair. Here is a lake now called El-bagge with an island in the middle covered with ruins, some of which are ancient. The lake is regarded as sacred; and it lies on the route of the pilgrims to Mecca, which may be the old caravan road from Damascus to the southern part of East-Jordan district. The name has completely disappeared, but that is not surprising in this part of the

country where most of the local names bear the imprint of Arabic origin. This lake city may represent the Karnaim of the First Book of Maccabees (5:43, etc.), the Ashteroth-karnaim of Genesis (14:5) the city of the Rephaim, and the Karnaim of Amos (6:13) as emended by Grätz and Wellhausen: "Ye rejoice on account of Lodebar; ye say 'have we not taken Karnaim?'"

W. T. S.

St. Paul's Vocabulary—St. Paul as a Former of Words. By the REV. MYRON WINSLOW ADAMS, M.A., Hartford, Conn. Hartford Seminary Press, 1895. Pp. 55. Price, 50 cents.

We have here an interesting and useful study of the vocabulary used by the Apostle Paul in the thirteen canonical epistles usually assigned to him. The text of Westcott and Hort forms the basis. List A contains those words used by Paul alone among the New Testament writers, amounting to 816 in all, and the references to their occurrence are given. Also, by a system of letters and references, it is indicated in this list (1) which of the words are common to the New Testament and classical Greek, numbering 562; (2) those which are exclusively Pauline in all Greek literature, numbering 111; (3) which are primarily Pauline in time, though used later, numbering 87; (4) those which are used previous to the New Testament only in biblical and ecclesiastical writers, numbering 32; (5) and those which are used in secular writers subsequent to 322 B.C., numbering 124. List B contains those words used by Paul in common with other New Testament writers, numbering 1662 in all, of which 77 are found previous to the New Testament only in biblical and ecclesiastical writings, 59 in secular writings subsequent to 322 B.C. In common alone with Hebrews Paul has 64 words, in common alone with Luke and Acts 189 words, in common alone with Hebrews, Luke and Acts 34 words. The number of words peculiar to Paul in the New Testament, as compared with the total number he uses, is larger than that of any other New Testament writer, being 33 per cent. And about one-twelfth of his vocabulary does not appear in secular literature previous to 100 A.D., while one-sixth is subsequent to 322 B.C., the time of Aristotle's death. A comparison of the words common to Paul and Luke only, 189 in all, of which only 30 are post-classical, shows that there is almost no relation of dependence of Luke upon Paul as to style. These two writers are the authors of more than half the New Testament.

Mr. Adams follows these two lists with an examination of the words classified as post-classical and ecclesiastical, indicating (1) the time and circumstances of their appearance; (2) characteristic endings found in these words of later origin; (3) some lexical affinities in the Pauline school of New Testament writers.

In the second part of the work, treating of "St. Paul as a Former of Words," a list is given of each word used by Paul alone in extant Greek

literature prior to 100 A.D., with a history of the word thereafter. There are 98 of these, from which 20 can be eliminated as probably not originating with Paul. Of the remaining 78, some appear to have been coined in an enumeration of virtues or vices or requirements of some sort; some represent thoughts doctrinally or emotionally characteristic of Paul, or have a sense distinctively Christian; a good many are compounds, of which part are formed in accordance with classic usage, part after the redundant manner of the post-classical Greek; and some are unclassifiable. Mr. Adams does not undertake to say how large a proportion of these 78 words which Paul *might* have formed, actually originated with him—to do so would be but to make a conjecture; however, he regards Paul as the originator of most (perhaps all) of them, especially of words of ethical import, holding that Paul must have done much to mold the Greek language to the needs of Christianity.

The relation of the four groups of Paul's epistles to each other, as regards vocabulary, is indicated as follows: Groups 1 (1 and 2 Thess.) and 2 (Gal. 1 and 2 Cor., Rom.) have over 70 per cent. of the total amounts of words, but only about 55 per cent. of the new words; whereas group 4 (1 and 2 Tim., Tit.), with less than 12 per cent. of the whole amount, has over 24 per cent. of the new words. In group 4 Paul's employment of new words is over two and a half times as large as in groups 1 and 2, while group 3 is a noticeable intermediary. This peculiarity of the vocabulary of the pastoral epistles Mr. Adams thinks can be explained by two facts: first, the character of the epistles is such as to call for more origination; second, as Paul advanced in experience, he gained increased facility and confidence in the formation of new words.

The work is carefully done, with much labor and precision. It constitutes an acceptable contribution to the study of the language of the New Testament.

C. W. V.

The Four Gospels. Translated from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest.

By AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1894; pp. xxviii. and 239; 8vo. cloth. \$1.90.

This volume has been preceded by two others, viz.: *How the Codex was Found*, by Margaret Dunlop Gibson, and the edition of the Syriac Text by the late Professor Robert L. Bensly, J. Rendel Harris and F. C. Burkitt; with an introduction by Agnes Smith Lewis. The present publication is a most timely one and will prove a great help and stimulus for the proper estimate of the document itself.

It was J. Rendel Harris' discovery of the Syriac Text of the Apology of Aristides, the earliest Apologist and contemporary of Quadratus, that gave the first impulse to Mrs. Lewis. Accompanied by her sister, Mrs. Margaret D. Gibson, she spent a month in the winter of 1892 in this very same convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, which had years ago given us the priceless

Greek manuscript of the Old and New Testament, known as the Codex Sinaiticus. Mrs. Lewis photographed a number of ancient manuscripts, among them a palimpsest of some 358 pages, which was produced for their inspection by the late Hegoumenos and Librarian, Father Galakteon. The upper writing was a very entertaining, and at times racy, account of the lives of women saints, and its date was either a thousand and nine years after Alexander, *i. e.*, 967 A. D., or a thousand nine-ty, *i. e.*, A. D. 778, if the small hole in the vellum occupies the place of the syllable corresponding to the -"ty" in "ninety," as Rendel Harris suggests.

The writing which lay beneath this, in two columns, also in Estrangelo character but in a much smaller hand, proved to be a copy of the four gospels written not later than the fifth century, of the same type, essentially, as the Curetonian. A second expedition in February 1893 was made by the two sisters, accompanied by Bensly, Burkitt, and Harris. They devoted themselves to the task of collation, each working at the manuscript for so many hours a day, while the rest of the party, so far as not thus employed, set to work on a catalogue of the Syriac and Arabic Library of the monastery. Zahn and others consider our text very nearly akin to the fragments published by Cureton, representing a freer, more popular, but at the same time less slavish translation of the Greek than is found in the Diatessaron of Tatian. They represent two recensions of one and the same text. Both show the same peculiarities, *e. g.*, Luke 23: 17 (as in D) after Luke 23: 19, reading: "and Pilate was wont to release one prisoner unto them at the feast." Both contain Luke 23: 36-8, etc. The deviations for the greater part are only of a grammatical, lexical, and stilistic nature.

The manuscript is numbered 30 in the Convent Library, and is a complete book so far as the later writing is concerned. Its material is a strong vellum, the outer pages only being disposed to crumble. Here we find in sober fact what happened only metaphorically in the Middle Ages—the word of God completely obscured by the legends of the saints.

It may be interesting to note that Professor Harris has detected beneath the gospel text a still older text, which would make this manuscript a double palimpsest.

Of the titles to the four gospels two only have been deciphered—those of Luke and John, with the colophons to Mark, Luke, and John. At the end of the four gospels is written in red ink: "Here endeth the gospel of the *Mepharreshē*, four books. Glory be to God and to his Christ, and to his Holy Spirit," etc.

The word *Mepharreshē* is difficult to explain. Mrs. Lewis understands the word as meaning "of the interpreters" or "translators"; although she does not consider the question as settled. Zahn and others interpret it as "separate," referring to the four separate records of the one gospel in contrast with *Mechalletē*: Gospel of the mixed, *e. g.*, the Diatessaron. Zahn discussing the relation of our Codex to the Diatessaron comes to the conclusion that the

close relationship that can be proven to have existed between the Sinaitic Codex and the Diatessaron shows that the latter was the earliest gospel of the Syriac church and that our manuscript was written at a time when the Diatessaron still exercised an immense influence. Mrs. Lewis, on the other hand, following suggestions by Nestle and Rendel Harris, believes that our manuscript is not a duplicate of the Curetonian, but the very first attempt at rendering the Gospel into Syriac, of which Tatian's Diatessaron and the Curetonian are both revisions.

The most startling variation in our text is found in Math. 1: 16, "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the virgin, begat Jesus, who is called the Christ." Discussion has for months centered on that one verse, and many different opinions had been emitted in leading papers. But it is yet too soon to formulate a positive opinion. The manuscript should once more be examined, the text more studied, and the questions of date, character, whether orthodox or heretical, and its relations to other texts, much more minutely examined.

Mrs. Lewis discusses a number of very interesting various readings, throwing light on some obscure passages. A most remarkable feature is that our text of Mark omits the last twelve verses; that in our Codex they could never have existed. Some of the readings indicate greater antiquity for the Sinai manuscript as compared with the Curetonian. But, on the other hand, there are a few expressions which may point to a later origin, *e.g.*, the persistent use of the title "our Lord" instead of the name of Jesus, etc.

To increase the usefulness of the translation, marginal notes are given to indicate those variations from our English authorized version, which have their equivalents either in the revised version, as substantially representing the testimony of the most ancient Greek manuscripts, in Cureton's MS., or in the Codex Bezae, as the chief representative of the old Latin. At the end of the introduction is given a list of 15 emendations of the Syriac text. The translation itself covers 207 pages. Two appendices, the one of 22 and the other of 9 pages, contain a list of words and phrases in the "Textus Receptus" omitted in this version without a full equivalent, and a list of interpolations.

In conclusion, we cannot but thank Mrs. Lewis for this timely and important gift, which, together with the Syriac text, will be of great help to students of the gospel-problem.

W. M.-A.

Social Theology. By WILLIAM DEWITT HYDE, D.D., President of Bowdoin College. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895. Pp. viii.+260. \$1.50.

Whatever may be the final outcome of recent exploitations of social phenomena, and however indefinite much sociological thinking may be, it is beyond question that the recognition of a something³ that is more than the sum of all the individuals of a community—society—is acting as a corrective of previous thinking and is developing a new mold into which today's

thinking is to run. Any attempt at restating old truths in conformity with this new conception of life must of necessity be pioneering. Theologies especially, if they are to include today as they have in the past, the formulations of religious experience in terms of contemporary thought, must at first appear fanciful or heretical.

The one or the other of these qualities is pretty likely to be predicated of this new attempt at modernizing evangelical theology. To any one who thinks of man as an isolated and insulated individual, the very title of the book will be unintelligible, and such words as, "to transcend one's own petty individuality and live as a conscious member of a social whole" (p. 71), will appear moonshine. Another man, who stakes his religious life upon accurate and severe definitions will shrink from such as these, "The Holy Spirit is the meeting-point between the actuality of God and the possibility of man" (p. 82). "The Father is the Absolute Ground of the phenomena of nature and the progressive movement of history. The Son is the incarnation of the divine in humanity and the champion of the ideal in its conquest of reality. The Holy Spirit is the Helper and Comforter without whose presence our aspiration to overcome the appetites of our nature would be irrational and our efforts vain" (p. 83).

Whether such definitions are to be taken as anything more than descriptions is, however, an open question. President Hyde is apparently less concerned with an absolute logical consistency than with the establishment of a new point of view. Thus (p. 85), "Unless we bring to our interpretation of the person of Christ the conception of the Father's loving will for all his children, on the one hand, and the conception of the Holy Spirit prompting us to social service, on the other hand, we cannot form a worthy conception of Christ as the Son of God. And in like manner, the Holy Spirit will never be to us anything more than a name signifying something mysterious . . . until we recognize the life of social service in ourselves as an embodiment of the eternal love of the Father, and as a reproduction in us of the life of his well beloved Son." This may not suit the maker of systematic theologies, but it has the possibilities of a new theological Organon. It adds the social to the individualistic conception of humanity and of humanity's relation with God.

So far the second main division of his work is concerned—the anthropological—President Hyde again presents old truth as if it possessed something more than a logical and verbal value. To him faith in Christ is something more than a *y* to be added to both sides of an otherwise insoluble theological equation—it is (p. 115) "a personal relation" with God, out of which "there will develop new hopes, new aspirations, new fellowships, new activities." The suffering of Christ was borne, "not to offer a ransom to the devil, nor, what is the modern equivalent of that ancient theory, to appease an angry God," but "because it is in the nature of love to identify itself with its object" (p. 138). Here again we are resting upon a new psychology in which

personality is more extensive than individuality in that it is essentially social.

In his third division of his work, President Hyde is naturally brought to a consideration of the sociological aspects of theology—or, perhaps, better, conditions of religious life. The titles of his three chapters will disclose the movement of thought. Possession and Confession—the Church; Enjoyment and Service—the Redemption of the World; Abstraction and Aggregation—the Organization of the Kingdom. Waiving the somewhat too homiletical terminology, these titles are admirable as concentrations of thought. The chapters themselves are catholic and stimulating. Here again are old terms and thoughts subjected to a vigorous though a conservative modernizing. What could be better than this? “The spiritual life is composed of solid stuff than cadences and candles, music and millinery; though these may serve for its decoration and embellishment. If the church is the form, the family, industry, economics, politics, education, society, constitute the solid substance on which that form must be impressed and in which it must be realized” (p. 215). Especially refreshing is the treatment of the Kingdom. It is, perhaps, not as exegetically complete as one could wish, but after one has been floundering in the slough of gush, bad exegesis, and perversion of Scripture that describes too often published studies of this glorious conception of the Master, it is a relief to come to words which if, as apparently, first uttered in public addresses, have yet been subjected to the altogether rare test of sober second thought. Indeed, if this book makes any one impression above its dominant desire to restate an accepted theology in terms of modern thought, it is that of objectivity—that is to say, of an attempt to state something that is a *thing*, not a bit of rhetoric.

President Hyde has thus given us in this unpretentious little book, a stimulating restatement of old truth; a new starting point for religious thought; an admirable example of the modern passion for reality. Such virtues tempt one to overlook the absence of certain features that would have been desirable—notably a fuller use of the New Testament, and an occasional greater care for definition. No man who is endeavoring to work his way through a traditional theology into the heart of Christian thought can afford to miss reading this work.

S. M.

Current Literature.

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FROM every side come reports of increased interest in the courses of Bible study offered in connection with the many summer gatherings. The courses, during the present summer, have been more numerous than ever before, and at the same time of a distinctly higher character. In a score of prominent centres throughout the country, lectures have been given, and classes have been organized by men who have prepared themselves especially for this work. If the question should be asked, What is meant by work of a higher character? the answer would be (1) work looking toward the impartation of proper methods of study, (2) work intended to bring forth important principles connected with a particular subject under consideration, (3) work conducted in such a manner as to stimulate the student to a more extended and minute examination of the ground, (4) work conducted in such a manner as to furnish definite results. There are doubtless other characteristics of high-grade work which might be mentioned, but these will suffice. The evidence is abundant that never before in summer meetings has the same amount of work been done in as many important places and with a constituency as broad-minded and intelligent.

FROM the testimony of others and from personal observation, things have been noted in connection with this work, some of which are encouraging, others decidedly discouraging. It is a

source of gratification to see men and women who have once secured a taste of real Bible instruction, become ravenously hungry for more. And it is noticeable that in those places in which such instruction has been accustomed to be given, the nucleus is composed of those who have before enjoyed the privileges of such study. The fact that these classes, including as many as two and three hundred members, are made up for the most part of laymen is also noteworthy. It is not true that the occupants of the pews are blind to their best needs. The absence in a large measure of clergymen, and the sad and frequent testimony of the parishioner that the minister is not interested in any work of this kind, furnish the dark side of the picture. It is easy to exhibit a lack of appreciation even when an effort is made, but whether true or not, the feeling is widely spread in the minds of the common people that the minister does not possess or care to possess an intelligent understanding of the book which is supposed to form the basis of his work. As a matter of fact the confessions of ministers themselves touching their ignorance of this book, and the exhibitions of ignorance which they make on all occasions where such ignorance may be detected, are sufficient to confirm what is rapidly coming to be the popular impression.

A SERIOUS drawback in connection with the summer courses of Bible study is the fact that the work does not continue long enough to make a strong impression. If, in all the schools offering such work, the courses could be expanded to six weeks the results would be in a measure satisfactory; for in six weeks, if one gives his attention to a single subject, something really considerable can be accomplished. When, however, the instruction is offered for only two or three weeks, and when the pupils are in some cases not present at the beginning of the work and in others unable to continue to the end, the work is not only insufficient but fragmentary. Still, has it not often happened that in a single hour one's whole attitude of mind has been affected? The presentation of one prophetic address from the historical point of view, or the exposition of a single passage of a New Testament

epistle, may exhibit methods and ideals of work which a sensitive mind will receive and henceforth adopt. The strongest impressions are not always the outcome of an influence extending over a long period. These few hours, even when interrupted at the beginning or the close, may and do incite the student to something not only far higher than that which he had been accustomed to do, but also far different. A new atmosphere may be created. There is testimony that in hundreds of instances this new atmosphere has been created, and that the Bible has become to the student an altogether new thing, a thing of life instead of a dead thing. It remains true, however, that so far as possible, the work should be so expanded as to be on the one hand more complete, and on the other at least fairly comprehensive.

A MORE serious difficulty is the lack of teachers for such work. It is surprising to note how few persons there are who can make instruction in the Bible at all interesting. It has
 LACK OF
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 TEACHERS therefore been next to impossible to supply the demand for teachers in the various schools to which reference has been made. The explanation of this dearth of teachers is not a simple task. One would certainly suppose that a Christian country like America would be full, even to overflowing, of men and women able to conduct this kind of work. A most rigid search and a large number of experiments have, together, shown that this not the case. The successful teacher of the Bible is a rarity. The country has hundreds and thousands of men and women who have by long effort prepared themselves to teach the English language, mathematics, or the modern languages; but where are the men and women who have undertaken special preparation to enable them to teach the Bible? No one should suppose for a moment that he is ready to teach the Bible unless he has made the same amount of special preparation which would enable him to teach any other difficult subject. Here, it must be confessed, is our greatest difficulty. If the interest already aroused in the summer schools does not increase, the reason, without question, will be the lack of teachers to carry on the work satisfactorily.

Is it not true, moreover, that this same difficulty exists in all of our churches? Nine-tenths of the teaching in the Sunday school is, as teaching, a farce. The work of many of these so-called Sunday school teachers, if judged upon the standard of ordinary principles of pedagogy, is ludicrous and at the same time criminal. It is ludicrous to call such work teaching. Their work is criminal if it is looked at from the point of view of the innocent pupils who suffer from it. For a long time people have engaged in this work, and have compelled their children to continue it because of a sense of duty. Already many parents have withdrawn their children from contact with such work because of a sense of duty. Ordinarily, the only person connected with the church at all capable of giving instruction in the Bible is the minister, and too frequently he is the last man who feels an obligation resting upon him to do it. That which is most fundamental to the interests of the church, which is, indeed, the most vital part, he generously turns over to a few uneducated, unskilled and sometimes unconsecrated teachers, and does not even trouble himself to see that these teachers associate themselves to help each other. The condition of things in most of our churches is in fact appalling, when we remember that in these days the Bible is not studied in the family as in former days, and when we come to understand the character of the instruction which is furnished as a substitute, we need not be surprised at the pitifully meager results. Nor is this all. Our ministers fail not only to teach the Bible, but also to preach it. The average sermon contains less and less of biblical material and more and more of that which comes from outside the Bible. This is due in part to the ignorance of the minister himself concerning the Bible and in part to the indifference on the part of the people with respect to it. This ignorance is in some cases a phase of the individual's general ignorance; in other cases it exists even where large attainments have been made in outside subjects. It may be said without fear of sustained contradiction that the membership of our churches is gradually becoming less and less familiar with the contents and teachings of the sacred Scriptures. This fact explains the new and increasing demand

for such instruction in the summer assemblies of various kinds. The people in these assemblies testify almost universally that they cannot obtain the instruction at home; that the minister is indifferent or incapable. They are, therefore, driven to obtain it elsewhere. The eagerness with which it is received is sufficient evidence that in too many cases there has been starvation. Something, therefore, is needed in the churches.

It is evident that there must be more teachers of the Bible; that is, more men and women who will give their lives to this work. Here, in fact, is a *new calling*. The minister cannot and will not perform this function.

HERE IS A NEW
CALLING

The work cannot be done by those who have not prepared themselves by long and severe training. There are needed teachers of the Bible for this summer work; for our colleges and institutions of learning which have long neglected this, the most important part of their work; for conducting lecture courses on Bible subjects in various places throughout the year; for regular instruction in the churches. The time will soon be at hand when hundreds of men will be needed for the summer and institute work; other hundreds for college work; and thousands for the work of Bible instruction which must be done in the churches if Christianity is to grow and prevail. This is, indeed, a *new calling*. The man who follows it will be in some cases a public lecturer, in others a college professor, in others a Sunday school superintendent, in still others an assistant pastor. His work will be simply and solely to teach the Bible,—a new calling, and, truly, a glorious calling.

IT CANNOT be said that this is a work which the minister can perform. It is doubtless a work which at one period in the history of the church he did perform; but times have changed. The inclination of the minister is in other directions and his education really unfits him to do this work. Of the man who enters the ministry without a theological education, nothing of this kind can be expected, for there is no group of subjects the preparation for which is more rigid than the subjects which make

up the Bible. Of the man who enters the ministry after having taken a theological course, not much can be expected in this line, for the theological curriculum of the present day not only permits but compels such superficiality as entirely to unfit a man for serious scholarly work in biblical lines. The curriculum is in most cases prescribed and the theological student must include in his course a given amount of work in five or six different departments each largely different and separate from the other. The result is just what might have been expected, namely, (1) inability on the part of the student to secure a satisfactory acquaintance with any particular subject; (2) a lack of special interest in any particular subject; (3) a general indifference to all the subjects; (4) a readiness at the earliest moment to give up intellectual work; (5) a tendency to die intellectually between the ages of forty-five and fifty. A course of instruction which leads to these results is not fitted to prepare men for the *new calling* of Bible teacher. Indeed, the reason why the modern preacher does not make use of the Bible to any larger extent is to be found in the preparation which he has had for his professional work. He has been taught to ignore the Bible, and in most instances has been given a conception of it which in itself was fatal to any real intellectual progress in connection with the matter.

WHAT preparation then can be suggested? Having in mind now that this new calling will be one of highest rank and dignity, and realizing that the work will make the most severe demands upon those who undertake it, we suggest the following plan: (1) A thorough college course, including Greek; (2) a graduate course of study which shall include the languages of the Old Testament and cognate languages; (3) an acquaintance with the Old Testament literature in its various forms of legislation, prophecy and wisdom; (4) a knowledge of the origin and growth of the canon, of the texts and of the principles of Old Testament interpretation; (5) a familiarity with the history of the Hebrew religion and the development of the theological

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ideas of the Hebrews; (6) a study of the documents of the New Testament texts and the principles of textual criticism; (7) the history of the New Testament times in Palestine in the Greek and Roman world; (8) the history of the apostolic age of the Church; (9) the life and teachings of Jesus Christ; (10) such other departments or divisions of biblical work as will be found of special interest. It may be suggested that such preparation is the preparation required of one who is to teach the Old or New Testament in a theological seminary. This is true, and the same preparation is required for doing the work described above.

ARE there not men and women in college today who have been looking forward to Christian work of one kind or another who may be induced to enroll themselves in the membership of this *new calling*? Is there any work of higher character? Is there any work more greatly needed?

THE NATURAL AND THE SUPERNATURAL IN CHRIST.¹

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THE question which we have to discuss may be regarded either as one in philosophy and criticism, or as one in religion and history. If the first alternative be taken, then we are at once confronted with the problem as to the existence of the supernatural, or as to the possibility and the credibility of miracles, and are required to determine whether and in what sense they could have happened ; how far and under what conditions they can be believed. This is a perfectly legitimate subject for discussion, though perhaps not so urgent today as it was a generation ago ; and as it is less urgent I may the more reasonably ask leave to be allowed to assume that miracles are both possible and credible. That after all is not such a very large assumption to ask to be allowed to make. The late Professor Huxley conceded the possibility ; he denied the credibility. Yet the two questions are most intimately related, and their common root is in our view of the universe or the collective order of things. If that view excludes God, there can be nothing miraculous, no supernatural, only a rigorous naturalism ; but if our view includes God, then the most stupendous of all possible miracles is conceded. For to say, God is, is also to say, he has created, and it means that nature as it exists to the senses is not the whole of being, but that before it lived and above it lives the Perfect Reason and the Almighty Will through whose action and by whose power nature was and is. The late Matthew Arnold used to say, in his sharp and oracular way, things that were

¹ An address delivered at the University of Chicago, August, 1895.

sharper than profound and more brilliant than true. And one of these was his famous axiom: "The unfortunate thing about miracles is that they do not happen." But the remarkable thing is, miracles have happened. This wonderful world, beautiful in all its parts, is now, but once was not, and beside the fact of its creation or coming into existence, every later event that could be termed miraculous must seem small. The mind we call Man once was not, but now is; and from however mean a beginning, or in however low a form, mind may have begun to be, it is, when compared with all prior and lower forms of existence, a thing so wonderful as to be entitled to have its origin named miraculous. If, then, we believe that God is and that creation has been, the question as to the supernatural is at once decided. Where he is the very medium in and through which all things have their being, there is something which transcends the nature of naturalism, and this something can only be described as spirit.

But we may leave aside for the present these large philosophical and critical questions—the one touching the possibility, the other touching the credibility of the miracles—and try to look at the whole subject as a matter of religion and history. By that I mean that it is a question that concerns the greatest religious personality which history makes known to us. I ask, then, is it possible to approach the question of the supernatural through the person of Christ instead of through the idea of nature? In other words, our problem is, whether Christ's person may not become more concrete, real and credible by his miracles, and whether these miracles may not be made more historical and actual by being viewed through his person? The two—the person and the miracles—looked at in their intimate inner and reciprocal relations and in their significance for each other, is, then, the theme of this address.

I.

The supernatural viewed through personality is one thing, and the supernatural viewed through nature another and a very different. These are two opposite points of view, though also complementary when placed in their proper sequence and

relation. Nature is the realm of necessity; personality of freedom. The note of the one is uniformity; the note of the other is reason and will. In nature, what is termed causation reigns; but personality is itself a cause. It follows that there is a great contrast between nature read through man and man read through nature. In one sense the latter is a thing often attempted, but a thing that never has been and never can be achieved. Nature, taken as the method and measure for the interpretation of man, means that he is, through the necessity that is thought to reign everywhere, to be construed as part of a universe which knows antecedence and sequence but no rational causation, a universe of coördinated but not connected being. Man in such a system appears as a succession of dissimilar or similar phenomena but never as a concrete, coherent, continuous, self-identical person. His thoughts, his feelings and his actions are regulated by laws as absolute as those that determine the ebb and flow of the tides, the moulding of the tear or the dewdrop, the movements of the planets or of the stars. But change the point of view; look at nature through personality, which is really the only way in which you can ever reach it or get to know it, and then see how all is changed. The categories in which you interpret it are those of spirit, of thought; the terms in which you seek to explain its existence become intellectual and ethical, *i. e.*, they take a complexion from the medium you consciously employ, though there is no other medium you can possibly use. For it is impossible for man to reason concerning things in nature unless he starts with mind, or with ideas and forms mind supplies. There is no one single idea on which science prides itself which we could receive from nature alone. Take in illustration the famous argument against miracles formulated by Hume. Remember this: Hume was a pure skeptic because a purely empirical philosopher, *i. e.*, one who regards man as a product of the nature around him. He was to Hume made up of two things: (*a*) Impressions, which are sensations due to the direct action of nature through sense, and (*b*) ideas, which are remembered impressions, *i. e.*, their faint image or echo. He argues that you can never find yourself without an impression or an idea; that

you are, therefore, nothing but a series of impressions and ideas ; that other than this you never are and more than these you can never know. It follows, then, that as you can never have an impression of cause, you can have no idea of any such thing. Nor can you have any impression or any consequent idea of so vast a thing as space, or of so multitudinous a thing as time. The ideas of self, causation, space, time are all unrealities, begotten of the tendency to feign, *i. e.*, they are mere fictions of the phantasy. All that comes to man, coming to him from without, must be given in individual impressions, and can only legitimately remain as the echo of these in single or associated ideas.

Now let us take this method and apply it to the ideas or beliefs which underlie Hume's famous argument against miracles. Miracles, he says, have two things against them : they are impossible, for they imply a violation of the order or the laws of nature, and they are incredible because they contradict our human experience. Well, let us subject the first argument to Hume's own method of criticism. We begin with the idea of nature. Where did we get it ? and what does it mean ? Had any man ever an impression of nature ? How could he ? He may have an impression of single things, say, of cold, of heat, of taste, of smell, of light, of sound. But of nature as a connected and coherent whole, it is impossible that any man can have an impression, and therefore of nature he can have no idea. How then can you say nature is ? Still more, how can you tell what nature is, if no man ever had a direct impression of nature ? Why, nature means an immense number of things. The total infinite multitude of impressions which make up the world without us, and the whole army of associated ideas within which we mistake for ourselves, but which is only a stream, or series, or succession of units in perpetual flow, moving and changing with inconceivable rapidity, and these as all bound into a system by some principle not understood. There can be no such thing, therefore, as an idea of nature, for of nature we can have no impression. Hence, all reasoning based upon it is illicit. Take next the idea of order : can we have any idea of it ? Here difficulties of another kind meet

us: for order implies time and its sequences. And so to have a notion of order we must be ourselves continuous, but we are on Hume's premises only a series of ideas and impressions, with no existence save such as they can give. If, then, we are to receive an impression of order we must have the whole infinite series summed up in one single sensation, which would imply a 'sensory as vast as the universe. As the thing is so manifestly impossible we can have no conception of order, and, therefore, cannot reason as if we had. Again, take violation; how can we have a conception of violated order if we have no notion of the order said to be violated any more than we can have any conception of nature or self, when both nature and self have been dissolved? Therefore, to argue that miracles are a violation of nature is to assume a multitude of ideas which science never gave, which psychology can by no physiological process discover, and which man could never have unless he first gave them to nature. The result is that Hume's argument is so fundamentally antagonistic to his own first principles in philosophy as to be broken, split, and forever ended by the very criticism he himself brought to bear upon personal identity, upon causation, upon space, upon time, upon the very ideas on which his argument against miracles rests, and which gave to it all its apparent validity.

This means then that the interpretation of nature must begin with personality, not the interpretation of personality with nature. And this again further means that if nature is to be understood, we must place it in relation to the mind to which it is and through which it is, and from which no art or science of man can ever divorce it. But the nature which has no existence save to mind expresses mind, and the mind which caused can never be separated from the effect. For my part I forever object to nature being conceived as independent of God, or to God being conceived as outside nature. He is omnipresent and cannot but be everywhere. How then can he be outside anything? He is permanent in his activity; acted from eternity; acts still; how then can he ever be conceived as idle or inoperative? I utterly refuse to represent the action of God in nature as intervention. I will not have it defined as interference. The

very notion of his universal presence and power makes his efficiency the condition of knowledge, the very idea of his ubiquity involves his activity in the entire realm and sphere of nature. As nature is read through finite personality and by it explained, so nature is positively created through infinite personality and by it caused; and in all its operations and in all its parts he is the supreme factor, the ever-living cause of all that is and proceeds. God is universal, the infinite operative personality; who never intervenes or interferes, but ever acts. Nature cannot be without him; and he can never be put outside it.

II.

But now, if these two principles, the one negative and critical, viz., that you cannot through any mere empirical philosophy of sense get the ideas that constitute the nature known to science; the other positive and determinative, viz., that you can never dissociate God, the infinite personality, from the nature he produced, be assumed by me and granted by you,—for they have not been here discussed,—we shall then pass in the light of them as just stated to deal with the personality of Christ. And here our positive principle may be stated thus: The personality is the interpretation of his history and of his action in history. DeQuincey made an important distinction between the miracles essential to the gospel and those accidental or incidental. The essential miracles were those that centered in the person of Christ, viz., the incarnation and the resurrection. The incidental miracles were those that came in, as it were, by the way, as the natural and appropriate expression of the essential. Hence, we may add, if we find the essential, the incidental will become credible. What is natural in me, obedience to the order of nature, becomes supernatural in him. What is, as the fit or proper expression of his personality, natural in him, *i. e.*, the exercise of supernatural power, will then seem supernatural to me, whose personality lives within the terms of the natural. The normal act of the person miraculous by nature is the miracle.

If this then be our point of view, how shall we proceed to its discussion? The simplest method will be to start from the oppo-

site point, and see what would follow if we regard Christ as a strictly common and natural man. How, then, does science interpreting the common and natural man proceed? If he be great, it seeks to find out the conditions that gave him birth, through which he was and by which he is to be explained. What then were the conditions in the case of Christ? First, race is determinative and vital. He is a Jew. And what is a Jew? He was then narrow, sectional, exclusive, conceiving himself not so much as God's vassal as the possessor of God. God was, as it were, owned by him and granted to the world on terms which he defined. To be exclusive through religion is ever to be governed by a narrower and more expulsive spirit than even the spirit of nationality. And such was the Jew, and Jesus was a Jew by race. What was he as to time? It was a time of decadence and of alien oppression, when the priest had lost his ascendancy and had become a mere negotiator between the turbulent Jewish people, on the one side, and, on the other, the jealousy of imperial Cæsar and his still more jealous procurator. It was, too, a time of formalism when the rabbi made rigid and elaborately maintained the rule of the letter. It was a time when the prophetic spirit had died out and all the world was looked at on the one side from the standpoint of sacerdotalism, on the other from that of ceremonialism. As to family—he was poor. Was his family not known, and was he not described as the son of Joseph the carpenter? What knowledge had he? Did they not ask, "How knoweth this man letters? His father we know and his mother we know, and we know that he has never learned letters." Without letters, what contact could he have with the wider world? The philosophy of Greece he knew not. Search his words and there is no trace of any knowledge of it. The polity and power of Rome came not within his experience; in a word, all that is signified by the civilized world or the culture of the peoples lay outside his range. As to the length of his life, what was it? Brief, nay, his is the very briefest public life of any serious consequence on record. At the longest possible estimate it was barely three years. And what was the prior preparation for it? Life in the carpenter's shop;

toil, pursued without making him sordid, or without creating the feeling of shame for poverty. And where was it lived? In a mean town, despised even in narrow Judea as lying outside the circle of religion and light. What kind of living human material had he to use? What was esteemed the very poorest. No priest was his friend. The Pharisee regarded him as only a kind of upstart, a sort of hot-headed fanatic who needed but to be questioned to be ended; one only fit to be snared in a catchy argument. The men who gathered around him were poor, unlettered, even as himself. They came from the fisherman's cot; they came from the receipt of custom. They came without pride of blood or culture or office; they were, one and all, in the scornful opinion of men who were judges in Israel, sorry men, yet entirely proper companions for their Master.

Such, then, were his outer conditions. Now what ought he to have been? Even such as they were. But what was he? Can we try him by the standard appropriate to a creature of such conditions? Let us make an attempt or two. Take first his speech. Speech expresses thought. In the region of intellect it belongs, as it were, to the very essence and spirit of the man. In it he lives, as it were, incarnate. But his speech, what was its order? It was simple, excessively simple in outward meaning, but profound, vast, infinite in inner content. Had it eloquence? Nay, it is in form broken, familiar, colloquial; the speech of daily life. Was it carefully preserved? Nay. He is never said to have written save once when to hide his offended modesty he stooped to write upon the sand. On paper or parchment he wrote no word, nor do we know that he ordered any word to be written. He spoke what he had to say into the listening air; and the air, as it were, stood still and received and heard his speech, preserved it and let it fall into the hearts and upon the pages where it is recorded for all time. In quantity, how great is it? The quantity is so small that selected from their context of history and event all his words may be read in an hour or at most two. They may be written on a few pages and carried in the smallest pocket. Yet take the words he has spoken, as to their intrinsic worth and power, and

where will you find their fellow? They have lived for centuries and in every century in which they have lived, they have been like the very presence of God, as it were the quick and quickening speech by which he created the worlds. They have taken men, often the ignorant and the base, and made them saints and holy. They have entered depraved and brutal nations, and have built them up into honor and wisdom, into order and enlightenment. They have no peers amid all the words ever spoken by men. Vital, living, breathing the very quickening breath which God breathes into man that he may become a living soul, they continue to live and to behave as if they were the corporate personality of the speaker, incarnating for all men in all time the spirit of his mind. For they live wherever they go, and in every life they enter they create a responsive Christ-like spirit within the souls of men.

But let us take, secondly, his moral action; his will as expressed in conduct; his being as realized character. Character is a subtle note distinctive of the inmost man. Now one thing marks universal character, a sense of sin, a consciousness of defect, and the higher the man the more is he marked by this consciousness. The great saints of the world have been the men most conscious of defect. The feeling of sin has so entered into the soul of man as to be, as it were, the hunger for God in him, driving him to the God for whom he hungers. But now here is the remarkable thing. Christ is not conscious of sin. He does not know it, he never confesses it; and what is even more extraordinary, his own want of consciousness is reflected in the judgment of the enemies who surround him. They do not see sin in him, and are silent in the face of his challenge to convince him if they can. Here now enters another element. If his words can only be described as a kind of intellectual miracle, what shall we describe his character as being? Is it not as character transcendent? It rises above the normal, the ordinary, the common. What name shall we give to it but the name of a miraculous character, having no fellow in the entire race of man? For this character shows its power by forming character. Can you give me one single instance in the whole history of the race that

may be precisely matched with Christ, where the character becomes a sort of norm or law, a standard which through the most distant times and amid the most dissimilar races men feel they ought to measure themselves by, containing the qualities they ought most zealously to imitate? Goethe, surveying the ages, said there was one thing we could never transcend—the moral loveliness exhibited in the gospel. We might imitate it but we could not surpass it. What is it that amid a critical, jealous, envious race makes the character so transcendent? Think of the imperial Roman with the conqueror's contempt for the men he conquered, bending in reverent homage before the very Jew his own procurator had crucified. Think of the proud intellectual Greek with the scorn of the cultured for the uncultivated and the barbarous, acknowledging the perfect sweetness and unsullied light of this Jew from Nazareth. Think of the man with the merchant's vanity and calculating instincts, pregnant with dollars and believing without irony and with the simplicity of a faith which feels that it cannot be questioned in their almightiness, face to face with this moneyless peasant and carpenter, forced to feel that of all things that have arisen in time, the sublimest is his character, the moral majesty embodied in his divine humility. Do you not think there are marvels here as inexplicable on natural grounds as any miracle?

But take a third case. His social idea. Social schemes, real and Utopian, had fermented in the world before him as they are fermenting in the world today. States have been built by many and great men, but mark the extraordinary peculiarity of Christ's idea. It was a kingdom of God. It was a kingdom composed of men. It was a kingdom which left every man in the political society where he stood, but changed the man and by changing him changed the society. It was an idea of wonderful originality, a kingdom of heaven as distinguished from all the kingdoms of the earth, of God as distinguished from all the kingdoms of evil. It was a kingdom within men. It was a kingdom around men. It was a kingdom in which men lived. It was a kingdom constituted of little children. It was a wonderful kingdom, ethical, spiritual

through and through, where every man loved God supremely and his neighbor as himself; where every man was the brother of all the rest and did to him as became a brother and as a brother alone. The marvelous thing is that he did not simply formulate this idea, but proceeded at once to realize it. And could you conceive what must have seemed a more prosaic attempt at realization? Fancy had you confided it to Alexander or to Plato, to Cæsar or Augustus, how would they have proceeded? Or, had you with your modern genius as builders of great cities undertaken it, how would you have gone to work? The warriors and statesmen would have followed the old methods of violence and craft, using force by preference, and craft only when force failed, building authority on wrong and creating order by means of lawlessness, with the certain result that the authority would endure only so long as the force was irresistible and the order live no longer than the repressive strength of the imperial hand continued unimpaired. And the philosopher would have dreamed out a system fit only for the schools, which might have had there a perennial being as an ideal, but never could have anywhere, or in any state have achieved reality. And you with your modern faith in the might of gold and the still greater might of the greed for gold, would have given it lavishly and summoned men from the ends of the earth to join the new community which promised best for the next world by making the most of this. But Christ went to work in a way which looks in contrast one of almost grotesque simplicity. He walked round the sea of Galilee, found and called Peter, Andrew and John; passed the receipt of custom and called Matthew; met Paul on the way to Damascus, and called him, and out of these men whom the statesmen of today would have classed with the residuum, or men of culture have described as the dregs of society—for they were men who were by their own day and people despised as publicans and avoided as sinners—Christ made his society. And what in his hands did they become? He changed Peter, the fisherman, into the man who founded churches and gave his name as saint and patron to the proudest of historical societies. And John he

made into the writer of the greatest history that ever came from the pen of man. And Paul he made into the great apostle and missionary, father of the Gentile churches and author of epistles whose spirit and speech are almost as quickening as the words of the master himself. These he took and out of them made the men we know, but his power was not exhausted when they were enlisted and disciplined for service. Nay, it continued, became, as it were, a permanent, moral energy, indestructible yet ever convertible, which embodied itself first in these apostolic men, but did not pass with their passing, but age by age, generation by generation, re-incorporated itself in new men and new institutions, behaving as becomes a power almighty, invincible, capable of creating the kingdom Christ founded, of realizing the idea he proclaimed.

III.

Now take this Christ and attempt to explain him by his historical conditions and circumstances. Where do you find in these conditions and circumstances any cause or factor capable of appearing even as an endeavour at a show of an explanation? Take his intellectual creations, his moral character, and his social idea, all as tested and elucidated by his action and function in history, and then ask where in his society, in his time, in his place, in his people, in a word, in his whole environment, have you factors to account for the total result? Before him there had lived prophets of a sublime monotheism, priests of an elaborate worship, around him lived rabbis of varied schools, leaders of many sects, but what man with the winsomeness of character, the universalism of mind and aim, the transcendence of idea and motive you find in him? Before he can be held the child of his age, the age must be proved capable of being his father, but the remarkable thing is the degree in which the effect transcends in all the elements of personality all the qualities that can be discovered in the cause. What is necessary is to explain how the Supreme Person of history comes out of meanest conditions, yet how can a mean and narrow environment be the factor of universal supremacy? Let us reverse the position and look at a man of perennial achievement both in thought and in religion

who may be explained by his conditions, Plato. He is a man of supreme literary genius giving the highest philosophical speculation in a form impressive to the imagination of all cultivated men, whatever their race or age. He is a man of purest religious genius, penetrated through and through with a passion to create the holy, with a desire to achieve the good. He is a man with a great social idea, the wish to build up in Greece, but for all time, a republic, which shall yet be a society governed by divine laws, imitated from the divine. He is the superlative genius in philosophy of his people, and they were of all peoples the foremost in speculative power, and his age was their golden age in philosophical and literary achievement. Before him there had lived many philosophers, everyone of whom contributed elements to his thought, and these he preserves and glorifies. Before him poets had lived, the classical poets of all time—epic, lyric, tragic—giving, in poems so perfect as to be immortal, expression to the multitudinous emotions and aspirations of the men of Greece. Before him Greek art had made actual the ideal of beauty, shaping with plastic hand out of cold and dark marble a form so divine that men felt as they looked upon Pheidias' head of Zeus,—Lo! we have beheld God face to face. Before him there had happened those great political events that had fused the scattered and independent Greek cities into a single united Greek people, and had made them conscious of a mission far beyond their own borders. And in his own Attic land the splendid genius of Pericles had made Athens illustrious forever, and created the most brilliant society the world has ever known. Conceive, then, this society as it stood, imaginative, literary, æsthetic, religious, which was as it were the mother from whose fruitful breast the young Plato sucked the milk of culture. Here was an environment which could educate; yet even with it he was not content. He wandered through Greece and forth into larger realms, into more ancient countries, stood face to face with their wisdom, the wisdom of Egypt and the further Orient. And he came back to Athens, drew around him a band of distinguished disciples, who gave almost as much as they received, and while he was the quickening center, they were a sensitive and stimula-

tive circumference. And in their creative fellowship, breathing the crystal air and feeling the high inspiration of his own famed city, he lived a long, happy and productive life, reaching a ripe and honored age. And what did he accomplish? Great things, nay, the very greatest possible in philosophy, yet in philosophy that is, as it were, the clarified spirit of religion. This he bequeathed in books, in dialogues, which have so enriched the literature of the world that it has never allowed them to die, but has treasured them for their truth, admired them for their beauty and imitated their form. And so this man may be said to have created a philosophy which has helped to civilize man, and a literature which the world, so long as civilized will neither forget nor ignore.

Yet compare the man of whom all these high and proud things can be said with this Jesus who issues untaught, unfamed, from obscure Nazareth into a world narrow, limited, and through it to the throne of intellectual and moral supremacy over man. Compare them, or rather, contrast them; for how can the two be placed in comparison, when in every respect,—birth, rank, education,—Plato is a splendid contrast to Jesus, while in historical function and achievement Jesus is a still more splendid contrast to Plato. Now let me put this question to you: Suppose on the day of Christ's death you had asked Pilate, or later had inquired of the orators of Greece, or of the philosophers of Athens,—do you think there is any similarity between Socrates who drank the hemlock, or Plato, who speculated concerning the ideal truth and society, and this Jesus? How do you think your inquiry would have been met? Can you imagine the scorn, the dazed wonder with which your question would have been received? Nay, could it ever have formed itself in any human soul, especially if souls were then as they are today? Yet now, when eighteen centuries have had time to consider and deliver judgment, what is their verdict? That this Plato with everything in his favor that time could give, is good for scholars and great in literature; but that this Christ is supreme in history, necessary to its order and so needful to man as to be

the very star of his hope, and the very light divine amid the darkness of his mortal being.

IV.

So far then we have been dealing with Christ in relation to his time and through it. And we have seen the miraculous contrast between him and his circumstances, between the actual condition in which he appeared and lived and the actual deeds which he has performed. And before I come to what seems to me, the inevitable deduction, I wish you to observe some of the features which he bears in the evangelical histories. The evangelists describe him in twofold terms, terms that are entirely natural, and terms as distinctly supernatural. He appears as the child of Joseph and Mary, humble inhabitants of Nazareth, as growing in wisdom, in grace, in stature, in favor with God and with man. He is represented as hungry, as thirsty, as suffering, as dying, as dead. But he appears also in an entirely different character, as a great worker of wonders, a doer of mighty deeds, and after the death of the cross, he appears again as one who arose from the dead. Now we have to mark this: There is a remarkable sobriety in the miracles that are ascribed to him. There is a wonderful sanity in them. It is more remarkable because in this region imagination when allowed to work freely never works sanely. What kind of miracles does he do? He creates joy at a wedding by ministering to innocent pleasure. He heals the blind, the halt, the lame, the sick of the palsy; he brings comfort to the widow who has lost a son, to the Gentile nobleman who mourns a child; he creates joy in the heart of the woman who had sought counsel of many physicians and only grew the worse for all their healing. He goes through life like a kind of organized beneficence, creating health and happiness. Now take the religious miracles of the ordinary type and you will find them to be in all their most characteristic features the exact reverse. They reflect a morbid temper, a fantastic and even childish imagination, such a temper as made a late distinguished Oxford scholar, whose biography is in process of appearing, turn the common blessings of life, like the water he drank and the food he ate, into means of penance and ministers of melancholy.

Or take the extravagant miraculous legends of the Middle Ages or of Buddhism as typical of the fantasy which creates and delights in the marvelous and the supernatural. Thus there is the tale of the culprit about to be hanged, who prays to the virgin, and when the rope is around his neck she comes and so holds him up that the rope has no chance of effecting its purpose. If we contrast this characteristic insanity of the common religious miracle, with the remarkable sanity that distinguishes all the miracles of Christ, we can hardly fail to feel the difference between the sobriety of history and the topsyturvydom of dreams.

But here another point emerges, the extraordinary discrimination which the evangelists made between what we may term the personal and the altruistic acts of Christ. They represent all his miracles as worked for others, never as for himself. There is not one single self-regarding miracle attributed to him. That is not what one would *a priori* have expected, for it is not what we have been accustomed to find in mythical narratives. But let us observe how intrinsic the matter is to our gospel histories. There is the temptation, which we may assume represents a fact. For the mind of the Messiah must have passed through a great intellectual crisis or conflict of ideals when the consciousness of his mission first became clear and imperative within him. Now what was the first temptation? "Make these stones bread." What did it mean? "Do for yourself what you have power to do for others. It cannot be wrong to do for yourself, the greater person, what it is right to do for the infirm, who are the less important. You are to feed the hungry. Feed yourself. Use your miraculous power for your own ends and good." But why does he regard this as a temptation and how does he meet it? "Man," he says, "does not live by bread alone." If he had performed this miracle for himself, it would have signified that he took himself out of the category of manhood; that he surrendered the act of sacrifice. It would have meant that that great act was not of obedience, but purely an act of personal power. So the temptation is rejected, and he says man shall not live by bread alone. Now take the second temptation: "Cast thyself down from this pinna-

cle of the temple, for it is written, he shall give his angels charge over thee." What did that mean? Exactly the opposite. "Treat yourself as so much an object of care to God that if you throw yourself down from here, God will intervene, act as he acts in no other cases, and miraculously save you." And what is his answer? "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." And why such an answer? If he had dealt with himself in his own case as a special object of care for God, here again isolation from man would have been evident; manhood would have been surrendered, and he would have ceased to be our brother, made in all things like unto his brethren. Yet so deep is the belief in the hearts of men that miraculous power where it exists is power, meant expressly for one's own purpose and one's own person, that the very ideas and suggestions present in the temptation reappear in the mockery which affronts the tragedy of the cross. Thus: "He saved others, himself he cannot save." They hold that as he does not save himself he cannot be possessed of divine power. Or they say, "Come down from the cross and save thyself and us," which is just the tempter's first suggestion in another form. Or, "He trusted in God, let him see if God will have him," which is only a revised and adapted version of the second temptation. The very same idea underlies these several sayings, and it is this: If he has supernatural power he will use it in his own behalf and for his own ends. This was man's idea, but it does not represent Christ's mind or will. In his whole life and in all his actions he never exercised his miraculous power for himself; always and only for men. Now mark, this is something entirely different from what the religious legends which embody popular expectations and beliefs express and reveal. For example, when Mohammed fleeing from Mecca was hotly pursued by his foes, he is represented as taking refuge in a cavern, and as soon as he has entered a spider comes and weaves its web over the mouth of the cave. When the pursuers come they see the spider's web and say, "He cannot have entered here, for this web could not be so quickly woven" and so they ride on. It is a rule then that men who write the histories of religious persons whom they credit with miraculous power, give them the power in the first instance

for their own behalf, and only as a second and later purpose on behalf of man. But Christ, from first to last, in all his acts and in all his doings, disclaims and refuses to exercise miraculous power for himself. In his mind it is man's, not his own; to be used always and only in the service of those who need and who suffer, never for personal interests or aims.

V.


But there is another point of view from which this power must be viewed: in its bearing on his moral character and his moral relations to men. Have you ever considered what a tremendous gift miraculous power would be. What a tax it would be upon moral restraint and all the qualities men must see and believe in that they may trust! Consider how a man is affected by power which other men may not challenge and are unable to resist. It tends to brutalize to de-humanize, to make the man lower in moral tone and character than his fellows. Indeed, there is nothing that depraves like the possession of absolute power. Two ends of society are the points at which you find the deepest and worst crime: Up at the very top, down at the very bottom. Two things are calamities; being so high exalted as to be above criticism, being so far depressed as to be below it. Be thankful that there is criticism around you; the keener the better. Man needs it. He can best bear it who is the best man. For unless associated with a goodness truly divine, absolute power can only deprave. What an awful record is the record, for example, of the imperial court of Russia. What a record of sin, of crime, of the beastliest vice. Despotism is hard on the victims who are below it, but hardest on the victim who is above, the despot himself. And if you enlarge the principle and imagine a being possessed of miraculous power alive in the world, you will at once perceive what a moral tax such a possession involves; to be able to heal man, to smite men, to have a knowledge which makes them seem transparent globes whose inner secrets the tongue may falsify but cannot reveal, to have hidden energies which can be used for personal advantage or neighborly despoil,—what a nature of absolute godliness is

needed in order to guide and in order to control such an awful and ominous power. Were Satan for one moment to ascend the throne of the Almighty, would not, in that moment, the work of all eternity be undone? Satan transformed for one hour into God would mean that the universe were a universe no more. But here is Christ with this marvelous power, and he is never corrupted by its use. Men believe that he possesses it, and they see him exercise it, but they never distrust him, never suspect him or feel that his presence or his purpose is other than beneficent. It does not divide him from men; rather they are turned the more to him; they presume the more upon him that they believe him to be supernatural. Consider this remarkable fact: His enemies do not deny his miracles, but go to him and say, "Thou doest these things by Beelzebub, the prince of the devils." And what does this mean? They confess that he did the things, but ascribe them to devilish power. Now if they had believed that the power in him was the devil's would they not have spoken him softly and called him the gentlest names they knew? Would they not have flattered him until they got out of his reach, saying to him "kindly devil," while all the time they thought him a devilish devil. And if these men dared to come into the presence of Christ, acknowledging his power, and yet saying, it is by Beelzebub, did they not thus pay the greatest tribute they could give to his purity, to his divine gentleness, to his sovereign control over himself? Such they seem to think is the marvelous strength of the grace he impersonates; that they can even dare to presume upon it and name him what they know he is not, and cannot possibly be.

Here, then, we have a unique miracle of the moral kind, power absolute, that does not deprave. While the power is so absolute, still the grace is greater; for the men who have acknowledged the power venture to presume upon the moral control of the character. But this is not all: We have next to look at some literary questions which are here involved. The evangelists became his historians, and in their histories they perform this remarkable feat, they wed the person they believe supernatural to an actual world, they describe the

life he actually lived. Now, I am speaking to people who live in a literary age; to men who know the conditions of literary work. Let me set you then a problem: Suppose you had to represent the career of a person possessed of the miraculous power attributed to Christ, in what terms would you write his history? Suppose you were told he is a person who had power to heal the sick, cure the blind, and even raise the dead; how would you proceed in representing him? Or take another case: Suppose you had set as the text the eighteen verses of the first chapter of John, "In the beginning was the word and the word was with God, and was God." "And the word was made flesh and dwelt among us." "No man hath seen God at any time, but the only begotten Son, who is the bosom of the Father; he hath declared him." This then is your text, and you are required to write a history as a sermon to this text. What kind of deeds would you give him; what kind of character would you ascribe to him? What sort of words would you put into his mouth? You would not dare to make him feeble and weak and suffering and dying. No, you would have to keep him as remote as possible from commonplace humanity. You would feel bound to represent everything on a gigantic scale; stupendous, abnormal, unnatural, not merely supernatural. But look what the gospels do; you step from the highest speculation to the simplest history. Christ walking by the sea and calling his disciples. Christ going to the wedding; Christ meeting Nicodemus—Nicodemus coming by night, coming, in deference to his conscience, coming by night, in deference to the Jews. Jesus, not standing on his dignity, but receiving the man who comes in the darkness, yet speaking to him as if all mankind stood in that one man before him. Look at him again with the woman of Samaria, tired and thirsty, asking water to drink; speaking to her, not as if she were an outcast woman, but as if in her all mankind did live. How marvelous it is, the humanity, simple, common, everyday, yet the great background, never forgotten, never absent one moment from the evangelist's thought, and underneath all there is the great idea—man is the image of God, and so the fittest vehicle for the revelation of him whose image he is. We may say,

then, were the gospels inventions, whether mythical or designed, they were the most marvelous literary creations on record. They contradict all other mythologies, for they do not make the miracle a power for personal good. They contradict all literary art, for they found a common familiar history upon the most marvelous of all conceptions as to the person whose history it is. And under all the history lies that great sense of the supernatural. "He is the light of the world; he is the life of the world;" through its darkness he shines; by his death it is redeemed from mortality.

How, then, did they understand this person? There are two interpretations that are allowed to stand side by side in the gospels. There is a strict naturalism represented by Pilate, represented by Caiaphas, represented by the Romans and by the Jews. The naturalism is this: "Jesus of Nazareth is a troublesome person, a carpenter, the son of Joseph and Mary. Let us put him to death." The other view is the supernaturalism of the evangelists: "He is the Son of God; he is the Son of Man. He is the Word made flesh. He is the light of the world. He is the life of the world. He has been in the bosom of the Father. He has come forth to speak unto men." These two views stand side by side; but we can now bring them to the bar of history and ask, which is the truer? If you had lived then you would probably not have doubted one moment that the truth was with Pilate when he said, "I have power to crucify thee and I have power to release thee." But dare you now say that the truth is with Pilate? Whether is the natural or the supernatural the more reasonable and the more philosophical explanation of the facts of history? Was not the evangelical interpretation of his person a marvelous prophetic forecast which all history has tended to justify? This is the question which I leave to make its appeal to you as unto reasonable men. Which of these alternative explanations offers the best solution of the problem? The person must contain the sufficient reason for all the effects  has produced, and where the effects are so extraordinary can the person be less than divine?

WHAT THE HIGHER CRITICISM IS NOT.

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At a first glance it would appear to be a much easier task to say what a thing is not than to define it accurately and minutely. The sphere of the negative is much larger than that of the positive and one can draw out of it more easily the materials for his negative answer. But this is a delusion. For a negative answer framed of materials out of the broad sphere of negations about anything would possess little value if any. The object of the negative question is not, after all, to secure a mere negative answer, but to approach as nearly as possible the positive definition. The most satisfactory way of securing this end, it must be evident at the outset, is that of distinguishing the object negatively to be defined from certain other objects with which it is liable to be confused. There are two classes of objects with which anything may be confused, and from which it is always necessary to distinguish it. These are first objects of the same kind or genus and second objects of a different kind but associated with it in the relations of cause, effect, time or space. Without trying to keep these two classes separate in our answer to the question, What the Higher Criticism is not, we will endeavor to enumerate some out of each class with which experience has proved that the Higher Criticism is being constantly confused.

1. The Higher Criticism is not the criticism of the literary characteristics of the Bible. Whether a book contains good poetry or elegant prose; whether its style is that of a master or of a novice; whether it is beautiful or indifferent, it is not the task of the Higher Criticism to pronounce. Not that it does not take cognizance of or deal with these peculiarities, but that it does not concern itself with them for themselves, but for the light they throw on a different set of questions, viz., those of the

origin, composition and value for the purposes for which the writings were intended. For this reason the common statement that the Higher Criticism is an unfortunate term and that the title "Literary Criticism" would better describe the thing meant, is not altogether true. The phrase Higher Criticism may be an unfortunate one, but the phrase Literary Criticism would be quite as objectionable. It would suggest the criticism of the biblical books as literary productions, which whether legitimate or not, is not what the Higher Criticism sets out to do. It asks not what are the beauties or defects of these productions from the æsthetic point of view, but what are the facts as to their authorship, construction, unity, time and place of composition, literary form and credibility as history or authority as ethics and religion. When it has found answers to these questions, its work is ended.

2. The Higher Criticism is not a philosophical principle or mode of viewing the Bible and its contents. There is a system of interpretation which begins with the denial of the possibility of miracles. When this system comes across the account of a supernatural event, it sets to work to explain it away. It assumes that the account is either in whole or in part the result of error or deception. When it is impossible to do this, it resorts to the denial of the genuineness or authenticity of the book in which it is found. By putting an interval of a generation or a century between the occurrence of the alleged supernatural event and the recording of it, it aims to allow for the growth of the belief in the miraculous nature of the occurrence and relieve its alleged eyewitnesses from the charge of deception or error. This is the rationalistic system of interpretation and criticism in which the philosophical assumption that miracles are impossible precedes conditions and determines the results. Sometimes these results are given out in the name of the Higher Criticism. Transparent as is this effort of the rationalist to claim the authority of a scientific method for his views to the expert, it is not easy for the inexperienced and the layman to see the distinction. He cannot too strenuously insist on the necessity of keeping apart the method of research and the rationalistic postulates

on the basis of which it is used by some. In the early days of the science of geology some atheists tried to palm off the atheistic conclusions which they drew from the discoveries of geologists as the inevitable results of geological investigation. They had carried their atheism into geology as postulates and could take from geology atheism as a result. But geology and atheism were not and never became synonymous. Thus criticism and rationalism should not be allowed to become synonymous, but as soon as possible, and as sharply as possible, distinguished from one another.

3. The Higher Criticism is not a theory of inspiration. The mistake of identifying this phrase with some theory of inspiration (generally a loose one and such as tends to annul or destroy the faith of believers in the divine origin of the Bible) arises as follows: Theories of inspiration may be built either on (1) the *statements* of the Scriptures regarding their origin and nature as as a rule of faith, or (2) on the *facts* as to the human origin of these Scriptures discovered by investigation apart from what they say of themselves. If the first of these methods be adopted exclusively the result might be one, and if the second it might be altogether different. The Higher Criticism may be taken as a guide in determining what the facts are and the second method may be adopted upon the basis of the facts thus found without reference to the claims of the Scriptures for themselves. Or, these claims may be explained away consistently with the view formulated apart from them without any modification of the view in the light thrown on the subject by them. In such a case the Higher Criticism will appear to lead to a specific view of inspiration. This has caused many to think that there is a radical theory of inspiration to be associated with the Higher Criticism and to speak of this theory as the Higher Criticism. That this is also a mistake the above analysis of the case will suffice to show.

4. The Higher Criticism is not a set of views as to the books of the Bible. It has been said above that it aims to find answers to certain questions. When those answers are found to the satisfaction of an individual critic or of a school of critics they are

not to be called the Higher Criticism. They may be true or false; this has nothing to do with naming them. They are simply results. It would be as reasonable to call the piece of work that has been fashioned by some machine by the name of the machine as to call certain views reached by it by the name of the Higher Criticism. At this point the offenders are not merely the inexperienced and laymen, but some of the most prominent men in this field. Their prominence should not condone the offense of confusing a mere tool, a mere method, with the results which they have obtained by its use. It is a serious offense. It has led to an intense dislike for the name of criticism which interferes with its lawful progress. These results, crude and unsatisfactory for the most part to others, have been put forth as "the Higher Criticism." The indiscriminating public has taken the name in good faith and reasoned that if that is Higher Criticism it would have none of it. Specifically we may name two popular forms of this mistake. (1) That which makes the Higher Criticism a series of analytic results. That the Pentateuch was composed by four or more writers; that Isaiah is not one book but at least two and perhaps five or six produced at different times between the days of the prophet of that name under Hezekiah and the latter part of the exile; that Zechariah was composed by two or more authors; to hold these views is according to this form of the error, to be a "Higher Critic." (2) The second form of this error does not limit the Higher Criticism to analytic views but to views differing from those that have been believed in the past. The opposites according to this form of it are "Tradition" and "Higher Criticism" and these are mutually exclusive. To be a Higher Critic is to deny the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch; to assign the book of Ecclesiastes to later than Solomonic date and authorship; to ascribe the book of Daniel to the Maccabean period and in general to attach different dates to the biblical writings than those currently accepted in the Church. Whether the scholar has reached these results by patient investigation or by bare and bald conjecture it makes no difference to the one who labors under this error; as long as he holds these views regarding the books of

the Bible he is a Higher Critic. On the other hand no matter how carefully and patiently one may have labored upon an inductive basis to reach answers to the questions of criticism, if he has not come to believe that tradition is all wrong about the Bible, he is not a Higher Critic.

Is it not high time to rescue the name and with it the science and method of investigation from this confusion and abuse?

THE USE OF MYTHIC ELEMENTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT. II.

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IT seems plain, therefore, that some of the Old Testament writers made use of myths and semi-myths in illustrating and enforcing the message committed to them; and that they did so is not anything surprising. Everyone admits that a myth is capable of teaching very important moral and spiritual truth. The story of Prometheus, for example, contains some of the profoundest truths connected with the fall and redemption of man, set forth mostly in broken light and shadow, it is true, yet the really devout among the Greeks must have had their minds made accustomed to the idea of divine mercy as well as divine wrath, substitution,² or sacrifice of one person for another, and the final adjustment of wrong by the overcoming power of good.

Is it said that these ideas were very dim? Yes, so they were, and yet let us bear in mind that even in the education of the Jews dim ideas were the starting point of many a glorious enlightening truth in the subsequent years and ages. In the Bible, as in nature and in history, God makes use of every material. Nothing really ever "walks with aimless feet." The divine music of revelation is given forth by a harp of a thousand strings.

We all willingly admit that the Spirit in his revealing the mind and heart of the Father, from the moment when the morning stars sang together over the creation of man till the angels sang together over the birth of the New Man, made use of some very weak and erring men and women, as to both life and character. Why should we fear to admit that erring thoughts and

² *Voluntary* substitution, I mean, for that is wherein Chiron's releasing Prometheus radically differed from the common idea of involuntary sacrifice to appease the wrath of some god.

imaginations of the heart were also used? Over and over do we find that the tree of life grows in the same garden, has its roots in the same soil, as does the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Again and again do we find that, in the divine economy and conservation of truth, new increments of revelation are additions to the old. God uses the language of men, language they can understand, not unintelligible dead speech, nor a manufactured article. Men were not to be drugged, but fed; not to be overwhelmed by blazing illuminated texts written on the sky, but to be bidden hear and interpret the non-vocal day unto day uttering speech, and the silent night unto night showing knowledge; not to be made to stand forever before the thundering Sinai, but to be gently led by unseen hands into green pastures and beside still waters. Every advance in knowledge has revealed the fact that past knowledge has been mixed with error; and, moreover, that the very error has been of some help, sometimes seemingly the only help, to the advance. This is true, I repeat, of God's revelation to men. God had to teach *men*; and to teach men means that wrong ideas are not all to be got rid of at once and forever. Every parent knows, every true teacher knows, that errors cannot be corrected wholesale; but that inadequate ideas, even wrong ideas, are to be gently disentangled from the true, and even treated as true for the time. That there has ever been this adaptation of revelation to men as they could bear it, this wise accommodation of truth to the hardness of men's heads as well as to the hardness of their hearts, we have not only the word but the practice of the Christ; and so, if one will think of it, he will recognize that many of the leading truths of revelation were *actively* prepared for by the "thoughts and imaginations," as well as by the work and by the experience of peoples other than the Jews. As an illustration, consider the incarnation of the Christ.

Many peoples, especially the Greeks and those taught by the Greeks, have in a variety of ways conceived of unions of divine and human beings, incarnations of gods who have lived and wrought among men. The world was thus made *familiar* with the thought of that possibility. Shall I therefore conclude that

the incarnation of the Christ was only *one* of these many conceptions? I think not, but rather that these *imaginings* were real preparations for the reception of the true incarnation. Is it not a significant fact, I ask in this connection, that the very nation to whom this thought was the least familiar (the Jewish) was and has continued to be the least ready of any people to accept Jesus as the incarnate Christ? Speaking after the manner of men we may say reverently that God could not have saved men had the conception of some sort of incarnation of deity never been formed in the minds of men till the angels announced the fact just outside of Bethlehem. It would not have been believed.

Again everyone knows how liable figurative language is to be misunderstood, nay, to misrepresent the truth, and yet no book in the world is fuller of figures of speech than the Bible. It is as full of figures as is human speech itself. In spite of the fact that every figure is at best but a half-truth, more often but a very small fraction of a truth; in spite of the fact that to this figurative use of speech is due the most, yes, nearly every misunderstanding and error as to the meaning of the Bible, here the Bible is with all its figures. With sublime trust in itself the record of God's revelation is given just as it is. Slowly, under the promised guidance of the Spirit, its meaning is being made clear; and the more it is understood the better we are coming to see that just as the entire round of human character and experience is represented, so all shades of thought and feeling are brought into subjection to the grand ruling motive that has collected under one cover specimens of nearly every kind of writing written by men. Christians are more and more seeing that the very things which show that men, subject to like passions as themselves; men under the influence of their times and still superior to them; men with earnest purpose making use of all their knowledge and experience; men with little culture and men with much culture; men with the calm, unruffled trust of the author of that idyl *Ruth*, and men capable of the pessimism professed in the confessions of Koheleth the doubter—the very things, I say, that show that *men* wrote the books of the Bible are the very best

proofs that they wrote when moved by the Holy Spirit. Every fresh evidence of the human element only serves, if rightly interpreted, to enhance the presence and value of the divine; and, therefore, as it seems to me, the presence of what may justly be called mythic elements in the Old Testament not only adds to its historical and philosophical interest and riches but also brings out more clearly than ever the overruling power of the divine Spirit, who has used them to the glory of God instead of leaving them for the mere æsthetic pleasure of men.

Shall we, therefore, make haste to create or multiply evidences of the human in the Bible that proofs of inspiration may abound? Not at all, we are not to make haste in any attempt to understand the Scriptures, but at the same time we are not to shut our eyes for fear, or raise presumptuous hands to steady what seems to us the tottering ark.

The evidences that along the lines of the revelation recorded in these writings God is slowly but surely working out the salvation of men, are altogether too well established to be lessened by evidences of imperfections in the earthen vessels bearing the heavenly treasure.

This brings me to consider three peculiarities which mark the Old Testament use of these mythic elements. These peculiarities not only distinguish the Bible from all other books of the same or about the same age in this particular, but also save the Bible from any harm arising from the fact of such use.

I have already incidentally mentioned one peculiarity, the complete absence of all stories about the gods, and as a consequence the reducing to very narrow limits all reference to the mythic or legendary, or use of the same. Granting all that can with reason be claimed, the number of references is surprisingly few. The decided monotheistic trend of the writers and compilers seems to have checked mere fancy and to have solemnized their imaginations to an unusual degree.

Again the moral purpose of every reference is so plain that no one can mistake it. This is true even in allusions to so insignificant creatures as fabulous birds and beasts. The supremacy of the Lord Jehovah is insisted on at every turn and in all rela-

tions. For the most part, as we have seen, ancient mythic beliefs and folklore are used merely as *illustrations* by poets and prophets, with no indications, *necessarily*, of the writer's own belief or disbelief in them. Indeed, we find the author of Job, with a *naïve* indifference that is refreshing, attributing to the Lord himself references to mythic beliefs for the purposes of instruction. In Job (38:33) mention is made of that ancient belief of astrology, the well nigh universal idea that the stars have an influence over the lives and destinies of man, and over other affairs on the earth. The Lord thus addresses Job out of the whirlwind:

"Knowest thou the ordinances of the heavens ?

Canst thou establish the dominion thereof in the heavens ?"

It is the Lord also who refers to loosing the bands of Orion, to leading forth the Mazzaroth in their season, and to guiding the bear with her young, everyone of which ideas were mythic in origin. For this reason no one need be disturbed even if there were evidence of ten times as many mythic elements as there are. No one ever was or could be led astray by such use as is made of them in the Old Testament. The very great superiority of the Hebrew narratives, in this respect, over similar accounts by the Greeks is seen at almost every point when we bring the two into the light of reason and an enlightened conscience.

It is with no carping spirit that I call attention, by way of example, to the admixture of earthen elements in two of the pregnant Greek accounts. I believe, with Hawthorne, that any coarse and vile features which may be found in these Greek myths, are excrescences, parasitical growths, which drop off of themselves the moment you attempt to get at the essential parts so as to tell them to innocent children. I also believe, with Emerson, that "the voice of fable has in it somewhat divine. It came from thought above the will of the writer." These gropings after the truth are, according to a greater (in this sphere of thought) than even Hawthorne or Emerson, feelings after God and are to be treated as such.

The gold and the silver of Nebuchadnezzar's image were

none the less gold and silver albeit resting on brass and iron, at the same time, we cannot refuse to remember that the gold and the silver, the brass and the iron even in that imaginary image all rested on feet partly of iron and partly of clay.

The outlines of the first story, the introduction of evil into the world, are that Hephæstus was instructed to make a figure of clay, in which Zeus breathed the breath of life, and upon whom all the gods and goddesses showered their several gifts so that she became Pandora, a human being, radiant with all the fascinating charms of womanhood. This beautiful being, gifted with all gifts, was first sent to Prometheus to entrap him, but, foreseeing the trap, he refused the gift. Pandora was then taken to Epimetheus, to whom had been committed the jar or box containing all the future ills of mankind. Pandora, though warned and forbidden to open the fatal box, yielded to curiosity and lifted the lid whence escaped all diseases and troubles of mankind; but she shut down the lid in time to keep hope from flying away.

It is plain that the points of similarity between the Hebrew and Greek accounts are striking. The starting points are the same, hidden and forbidden knowledge— forbidden by the divine, desired by the human—in both the female is the first transgressor (perhaps because the writers in both cases were men); in both evil results follow immediately upon the act of disobedience; in both hope remains with the guilty pairs.

But the points of contrast are far more striking; and, were there time, it would be easy to show in detail the very great superiority of the Jewish over the Grecian story in a certain naturalness, in artistic perspective, and in philosophic insight. It may be noticed in passing, however, that in the Jewish account the knowledge is, so to speak, worth knowing. It appealed to a legitimate hunger of the human mind. To become as wise as God or the gods was worthy of a being created in the image of God; the motive in the case of Pandora was a woman's whim, mere vulgar curiosity to know what was in the closed jar. We may pass by the device of enclosing all ills, diseases and troubles in a jar; which is somewhat clumsy, to say the least (unless we choose to see in it an unconscious discovery or prophecy of

the modern germ theory of disease); but we cannot fail to notice that the *sin* of disobedience, which stands out so sharply in the Jewish account as the *root* of all evil and death itself, is scarcely outlined in the Greek tale: indeed it has to be almost read into the story before one can find it at all.

The second example, the story of Prometheus, is, perhaps, the noblest, most profound and spiritually suggestive of all the Greek myths. Briefly, the story in its most ancient forms was that Prometheus, for the benefit of mankind, but against the wish and command of Zeus, stole fire from heaven or the sun and gave it to men. As a punishment he was chained to the rocks, and a huge bird was appointed to prey upon his perpetually renewed vitals. Finally, Hercules was permitted to slay this bird of vengeance and torment; and the stern, invincible, and self-forgetting champion of humanity was, afterward, released from his chains by Chiron, the immortal Centaur, who voluntarily took his place, thus meeting the vicarious condition of that release fixed by Zeus himself.

I confess great reluctance in calling attention to the defects in this grandly pregnant myth; for, if the human reason and imagination, and may I add heart, ever came near to the central truths of our faith, they did so in beauty loving Greece in this story of Prometheus: and yet, beautiful and grand and significant and *true* as it is, the light that comes from it is a broken light after all—the lenses are defective. Prometheus gives men fire, at the certain penalty to himself, out of disinterested love for man, so far as man is concerned; but he also braves the anger of a disobeyed Zeus out of revenge and hate to Zeus himself. Zeus, out of a kind of pity and even mercy, permits Hercules to do a brave deed of compassion; but Zeus hopes thereby to win from his otherwise unconquerable defier the secret which Prometheus alone can divulge, and the possession of which Zeus knows to be indispensable to his permanency as ruler of gods and men. Chiron, the wise and loving teacher of the best Greek heroes, *vicariously* takes Prometheus' place in chains on the bleak rocks of Caucasus; but he does it avowedly to escape from an undeserved but immortal wound unwittingly inflicted upon him by his

renowned pupil Hercules. Thus selfish and interested motives appear in what seem to be acts of pure mercy and love. The light is not white but colored. The water is not the water of life from heaven, but is bitter with the salts of earth. God could not yet reveal to and through these old Greek poets and sages the severely simple truth brought to light in the life and work and death of Jesus, the Jew—God *so loved* the world that he *gave* his only begotten son—; and hence, while thankful for what these old seekers after God did see and did give us of truth, we turn unfilled and unsatisfied to those who, for some reason, were permitted to catch and transmit the truth of eternal life.

There is still another peculiarity which is even more striking and significant than the two already mentioned. I refer to the almost complete absence of what may be called pure personification. The only exceptions, I can recall, are the personification of wisdom in Proverbs, and the personification of Jerusalem, or that for which Jerusalem stood, and a few others of similar nature. Of course if we take the ordinary definitions of personification, or the loose use of the term ordinarily employed, we can find an almost endless number of examples in the Old Testament; for certain qualities or activities of persons are ascribed to well-nigh every kind of inanimate as well as animate objects. Floods and springs, trees, mountains and hills clap their hands and shout for joy, yea, they also sing. Hear the Psalmist:

Praise ye him, sun and moon :
 Praise him, all ye stars of light.
 Praise him, ye heavens of heavens,
 And ye waters that be above the heavens.

* * * * *

Ye dragons, and all deeps :
 Fire and hail, snow and vapor ;
 Stormy wind, fulfilling his word :
 Mountains and all hills ;
 Fruitful trees and all cedars :
 Beasts and all cattle,
 Creeping things and flying fowl ;

and thus the whole round of nature is called upon to do what

only a person can do : but in all this there is no real personification in the sense in which the Greeks understood and used that term. Even that remarkably beautiful expression, "the eyelids of the morning," summons before us no radiant figure like Phœbus. There is a spirit, a life in all these things, but it is the spirit of God who causeth the grass to grow and sendeth forth the springs. We search in vain in the Old Testament for any hint of hamy-dryads or dryads or naiads or nymphs. Metaphor and simile and apostrophe follow one another in quick succession on the sacred page but no bodying forth, no proper personification. "The sun is *as* a bridegroom coming out of his chamber and rejoiceth *as* a strong man to run a race;" but the earth is not our mother, nor the sky our father. The moon is not the swift huntress, nor the pale goddess of night, nor the pallid goddess of the under world.

If any one wishes to realize the radical difference there is between the Old Testament way of attributing personal qualities and activities to physical phenomena and the personifying of these same phenomena in Greek mythology, let him read the rhapsodies of St. Francis, who addresses the rain as his sister and the wind as his brother, thus uniting Greek mythology with Jewish, or I should rather say, with Christian theology. We are constantly personifying nature, for example, but, in so doing, we follow Greek thought and not Hebrew.

Unless I am greatly mistaken, this absence of real personification in the Old Testament sets the writers apart in their use of the mythic element, and shows conclusively that they were the masters and not the slaves of their imaginations; and that they were the masters was because they wrote not by or through themselves alone, but as they were moved by Him who ruleth over all.

Indeed, I must go farther than this and say that, had I found in the Bible no use made of what has played so important a part in the development and training of human thought and character, these writings would have been to me somewhat less than the full revelation of the mind of the Father, the Eternal Lover of men, to his children.

Aids to Bible Readers.*

THE EARLIEST LETTERS OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.

By ERNEST D. BURTON.
The University of Chicago.

I. THE FIRST LETTER TO THE THESSALONIANS.

AT THE head of the Gulf of Salonica lies today the city of Saloniki, next after Constantinople the most important city of Turkey in Europe. Beautiful for situation, admirably located for maritime commerce, the southeastern terminus of a railroad, recently completed and connecting it with central Europe, it seems destined to be with every passing decade a place of greater importance. Twenty-four centuries of continuous history are behind it, through twenty-two of which it has borne substantially the same name. For the modern Saloniki is but the abbreviated form of the name Thessalonica, which Philip of Macedonia is said to have given to his daughter in commemoration of a victory over the Thessalians won on the day of her birth, and which when this daughter had grown to maturity her husband, Cassander, gave in honor of his wife to the city which he built on the site of the ancient Halia.

Three centuries and a half after Cassander named it Thessalonica, Paul the Apostle visited this city bringing to it the message of the gospel. He was making his first preaching tour through Macedonia (his second missionary journey as we commonly reckon the missionary journeys), and had just come from Philippi and the evil treatment to which he had been subjected there (I. Thess. 2: 1, 2).

His labor here, or at least his success, was chiefly among the Gentiles, and these indeed not proselytes of Judaism either in the stricter or the looser sense of the term, but worshipers of idols. Paul and his companions Silas and Timothy spoke the word with power and the Holy Spirit, and with much assurance, confident that God had in that

* Under this head will be published from month to month articles intended to furnish help in the intelligent *reading* of the books of the Bible *as books*. They will aim to present not so much fresh results of critical investigation as well established and generally recognized conclusions.

city a people for himself; and when the Gentiles heard them they turned from their idols to worship a living and true God and to wait for his Son from heaven (I. Thess. 1:5-10). The book of Acts speaks indeed only of work in the synagogue; but this, in view of Paul's own definite statement, cannot be regarded as a complete account of his work in Thessalonica.

Driven out after a time from the city, Paul and his companions continued southward. The next point which is mentioned in Paul's letter is Athens (3:1), but Acts tells of a visit to Berea preceding that at Athens. But though engaged in efforts for the inhabitants of these latter cities, the apostle's heart yearned over the converts whom he had left in Thessalonica, comparatively inexperienced in the Christian life, exposed to persecution from their Gentile neighbors (2:14), and with no mature Christian to instruct or encourage them. Disappointed in his own repeated attempts to visit them (2:17, 18), Paul at length sends Timothy back to Thessalonica to learn how it is going with the young Christians there, remaining himself alone at Athens (3:1). In the interval of Timothy's absence Paul apparently left Athens and went to Corinth; and there Timothy, and at about the same time Silas also, joined him, the former bringing news which on the whole was reassuring and comforting to the apostle concerning the steadfastness of the Thessalonian Christians (3:6-8; *cf.* 1:1). There are, indeed, indications that they needed some admonition and instruction from the apostle—it would have been strange indeed if converts so lately emerged from heathenism had not needed both. They were exposed to persecution (3:4) and temptation (4:1-8), and their not wholly intelligent expectation of the coming of the Lord had made them mourn unduly over the death of their friends (4:13). Yet while a portion of the letter is occupied in instructing and admonishing the Thessalonians concerning these things, taken as a whole it makes the impression of being a spontaneous outpouring of the apostle's heart to a church which he loved with deep affection, and in whose well-being he was profoundly interested.

The course of the apostle's thought is apparently as follows:

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| I. SALUTATION. | Chap. 1:1. |
| II. REMINISCENCE AND NARRATIVE; the apostle recounts his relations to the church of the Thessalonians up to the time of writing. | 1:2—3:13. |
| 1. Reminiscences of his first preaching to the Thessalonians. | 1:2-10. |
| 2. Review of his unselfish and sincere labor among them. | 2:1-12. |
| 3. Thanksgiving to God for their acceptance of his message. | 2:13-16. |

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| 4. His desire to visit them. | 2: 17-20. |
| 5. Timothy's visit and Paul's joy at the news he brought. | 3: 1-10. |
| 6. Benediction. | 3: 11-13. |
| III. INSTRUCTIONS AND EXHORTATIONS. | 4: 1-5: 24. |
| 1. Exhortation to pure and upright Christian living. | 4: 1-12. |
| 2. Comfort and exhortation concerning Christ's coming again. 4: 13-5: 11. | |
| <i>a.</i> Comfort concerning them that fall asleep. | 4: 13-18. |
| <i>b.</i> Exhortation to watchfulness and sobriety. | 5: 1-11. |
| 3. Sundry brief exhortations. | 5: 12-22. |
| 4. Benediction. | 5: 23, 24. |
| IV. CONCLUSION. | 5: 25-28. |

II. THE SECOND LETTER TO THE THESSALONIANS.

The second letter to the church in Thessalonica is manifestly closely connected with the first.

The very occurrence of the name of Silas in the salutation of both letters tends to connect them in time, since there is no intimation in Acts or the letters of the apostle that Silas was with Paul except on his second missionary journey. The situation at Thessalonica depicted in the second letter also reminds one at once of that which the first letter presents. In certain respects it is nearly the same. As in the first letter he gives thanks for their work of faith, and labor of love, and patience of hope, so here he mentions with thankfulness that their faith is growing exceedingly, and that their love to one another abounds (1: 3). The persecutions which the first letter mentions still continue, but they are enduring them with patience and faith (1: 4). The coming of the Lord is again the subject—indeed the chief subject—of instruction. But in respect to this the situation is considerably changed and the instruction quite different from that of the first letter. While in the former letter Paul had occasion to comfort them in their grief over the death of some of their number by the assurance that they who thus fell asleep should suffer no disadvantage at the coming of the Lord, he now finds it needful to correct a tendency in the church to restlessness and perturbation of mind under the influence of the thought that the day of the Lord is already present (2: 1, 2)—apparently in the sense, not that the Lord had come as predicted in I. Thess. 4: 16, but that the period to which this event belonged had already set in. He also reproves those, seemingly only a small part of the church, who are disposed to be idle and disorderly (3: 6-13). This last evil is indeed mentioned in the first letter (4: 11, 12; 5: 14), but much more briefly and less emphatically. It would seem that it had increased in the

interval between the two letters. Neither letter directly associates this tendency to idleness with the expectation of the coming of the Lord, but the suggestion is obvious that the two were in fact connected. It would be easy to reason that if the Lord was speedily to come, if indeed the period of his coming had already set in, all labor for this world's goods was useless toil. So only they could obtain bread from one day to another from those who still had something to spare, this was enough, and daily labor was needless.

The apostle writes, accordingly, chiefly to correct these two errors, one of doctrine and one of life. Concerning the day of the Lord, he assures them that it is not, as they suppose, already present, but that certain things must occur before it comes. His language concerning these antecedents of the day of the Lord is to us now extremely obscure, and has given rise to varied interpretations which it is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss.* The idlers and busybodies he sharply reproves, bidding them work with quietness and eat their own bread. The total effect which the letter seems intended and adapted to produce is to steady and quiet the immature and easily excitable body of Christians at Thessalonica. The lessons it teaches are of permanent value, and in the main clear, independently of the difficult problems of interpretation, the key to which we have possibly lost. Courage and faith under persecution, calmness, quiet industry in the presence of the greatest expectations—these are duties that never grow obsolete.

The plan of the letter is simple, about as follows :

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| I. SALUTATION. | Chap. 1: 1, 2. |
| II. THANKSGIVING FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE CHURCH AND COMFORT TO THEM IN THEIR PERSECUTIONS. | 1: 3-12. |
| III. ERRORS CONCERNING THE DAY OF THE LORD CORRECTED. | 2: 1-17. |
| 1. Exhortation not to be disturbed by the false notion that the Day of the Lord is already present. | 2: 1, 2. |
| 2. Events that must precede it. | 2: 3-12. |
| 3. Thanksgiving that the Thessalonians were chosen unto salvation. | 2: 13, 14. |
| 4. Benediction. | 2: 16, 17. |
| IV. CONCLUSION. | Chap. 3. |
| 1. Request for their prayers and prayer for them. | 3: 1-5. |

* The student who wishes to grapple with the problem of the interpretation of this passage will find needed help, through a confusing variety of opinion, in the commentaries on the epistle. *Alford's Greek Testament*, Vol. III., Introduction to II. Thessalonians, gives an account of the various views that have been held.

2. Instructions concerning disorderly busybodies. 3:6-16.
3. Autograph salutation and benediction. 3:17, 18.

III. THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

It is always a matter of interest in studying a letter to know as much as possible concerning both the writer and the persons addressed, especially of their relations to one another; and since a knowledge of the time and circumstances of the writing of the letter frequently helps in defining to us the situation from which the letter came, it becomes desirable to determine these also. In the case of Paul's letter to the Galatians there are special difficulties in the way of determining these things. We know the writer, indeed, and much of his history. But we cannot determine with certainty who the persons addressed were, or when the letter was written, or where.

Our uncertainty with reference to these matters springs from an uncertainty as to the precise meaning of the term Galatia as used in the salutation of the letter.

Three centuries before Cæsar wrote his Commentaries, in which he described all Gaul as divided into three parts, certain members of those tribes which the Romans included under the general name of Galli, left the territory in western Europe where they had lived, and turned eastward and southward seeking new lands to conquer. In 390 B.C. they came into Italy; a little more than a century later they—or to speak more accurately, their descendants—were repulsed at Delphi, and at about the same time (278 B.C.) a detachment of the same stream came into Asia Minor. For a time they overran the whole peninsula, but about 230 B.C. Attalus, king of Pergamum, inflicted a decisive blow on them and confined them within a territory in the interior of the peninsula, somewhat north and east of the center. Thus there was produced in the heart of Asia Minor an eastern Gaul, or as the Greeks called it, Galatia. Forty years later (189 B.C.) Galatia shared the fate of the rest of the peninsula and fell under the power of the Romans, who however left to the Galatian kings a certain degree of independence. Still later, in the latter part of the first century B.C., the Romans granted to the last of these vassal Gallic kings gifts of territory lying further south and west, including Lycaonia, Pisidia, Pamphylia and a portion of Phrygia.

From this act of generosity, or of prudence, on the part of Rome springs our present perplexity. For, on the death of Amyntas in 25 B.C. the Romans converted what had been the kingdom of Amyntas

into a Roman province under the name of Galatia. The word thus had—to say nothing of its possible reference to the Gaul of western Europe, which the Greeks commonly called Galatia also—two possible senses as applied to territory in Asia Minor. It might designate the whole of the Roman province, or it might describe the northern portion which was inhabited by the Asiatic Gauls.

Now, if when Paul wrote to the churches of Galatia, he meant by the term to designate the Roman province, he undoubtedly included the churches which he established on his first missionary journey in Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe (Acts, chaps. 15 and 16); indeed for reasons that need not be given here, we must conclude that he refers to these alone. But if he used the term to designate the territory inhabited by Gauls, the churches above named are excluded, because they lie in the non-Gallic part of the province. Where the churches addressed were located we can in this case only conjecture, since the apostle never names them separately, and the book of Acts likewise uses only very general terms (Acts 16:6; 18:23).

From 1863, when the English scholar, Lightfoot, published his commentary on the epistle, maintaining that Acts 16:6 refers to a journey into northern Galatia, and that the letter is addressed to the churches established on that journey, there was until lately, among English and American scholars especially, but little dissent from this theory. Recently, however, Professor W. M. Ramsay, having accumulated fresh evidence by exploration in Asia Minor, has propounded anew the theory which had previously been maintained by some but without gaining many adherents, that the Galatian churches of the New Testament were those at Pisidian Antioch, Iconium, Lystra and Derbe. According to this theory, we know nothing of churches in the Gallic portion of the province. Acts 16:6 is either a recapitulatory statement of the journey through the southern part of the province, or refers to a rapid journey from Iconium, Antioch, or other point in that region, to the place at which the roads to Bithynia and Troas parted; and Acts 18:23 describes a journey through the southern portion of the province.

Deciding where the churches were located decides also when they were founded, and in part when the letter was written. The churches of southern Galatia were established on the first missionary journey (Acts, chaps. 13, 14). If there were any churches in northern Galatia established by Paul, he planted them on the second journey, at the time indicated by Acts 16:6. In the former case, since according to

Gal. 4:13 Paul had been in Galatia twice and only twice when he wrote the letter, the writing must have occurred after the journey narrated in Acts 16:1-6, and before that referred to in Acts 18:23. But if the letter was addressed to churches in northern Galatia, the letter must have been written after the journey of Acts 18:23.

These questions are still in dispute, and an altogether certain conclusion does not seem as yet attainable. At present the probability seems to lie on the side of the South-Galatian view, though perhaps not in precisely the form advocated by Ramsay.

But while we are thus unable to locate the letter exactly in the life of the writer, or even to determine to whom it was written, we are fortunate in being able from the letter itself, to determine with a good degree of definiteness, the previous relations of the writer and his readers, the circumstances which gave rise to the letter, and the purpose for which it was written.

The Galatians to whom the letter was written were Gentile Christians, converted from heathenism (4:8), and evidently under the preaching of Paul (1:8, 9; 4:13; cf. 3:1 ff.). Paul's first preaching to them was occasioned by illness on his part (4:13). Apparently he had intended to go in some other direction, but was led by illness either to go to Galatia, or being on his way through it to tarry there. He proclaimed to them Jesus Christ and him crucified, preaching salvation through him by faith apart from works of law (3:1, 2). He had evidently imposed no Jewish ordinances, but had taught a purely spiritual Christianity (3:4; 4:8-11; 5:3, 4). The Galatians had received him and his gospel with enthusiasm (4:12-15). They had been baptized (3:27) and had received the gift of the Spirit (3:2-5). Paul had visited them a second time, as is implied in his speaking of "the former" visit (4:13). Possibly before the second visit there had been false teachers among them (1:9), but if so the defection had not been serious (5:7). More recently, however, a serious attempt had been made to draw them away from the gospel as Paul had preached it to them (1:7; 5:12). This new doctrine opposed to Paul's, was of a judaistic and legalistic type. Its advocates endeavored to win the Galatians to it by appealing to the promises of the Old Testament to Abraham and his seed, evidently teaching them either that salvation was possible only to those who were, by blood or adoption, children of Abraham, or that the highest privileges belonged only to these. Though the letter makes no definite statement on this point, it easily appears from the counter argument of the apostle in chapters 3 and 4. (See

especially 3:7, 9, 14; 4:21-31). They had laid chief stress upon circumcision, this being the initiatory rite by which a Gentile was adopted into the family of Abraham. Though they had cautiously abstained from endeavoring to impose the whole Jewish law, or from pointing out that this was logically involved in what they did demand, they had induced the Galatians to adopt the Jewish feasts and fasts (4:10). That they denied the apostolic authority of Paul was a necessary consequence of their denial of all the distinctive doctrines of his preaching. This denial seems to have taken the form of representing Paul as a renegade follower of the Twelve, a man who knew nothing of Christianity except what he had learned from the Twelve, and had perverted this. This appears from the nature of Paul's defense of his independent authority as an apostle in the first two chapters of the letter.

This assault of the judaizers upon the Galatians was upon the very point of succeeding when Paul learned of the state of affairs. They were already removing from the gospel which Paul had taught (1:6); he feared that his labor on them was wasted (4:11); yet in a hopeful moment he was confident in the Lord that they would not be carried away (5:10).

Such is the situation that gives rise to the letter. If it seems to have a double purpose, partly to defend himself, partly to defend his gospel, this is only in appearance. The defense of himself is forced on him by the relation in which the question of his authority stands to the truth of his gospel. Considerable space is necessarily devoted at the outset to this matter, since it was of little use to argue, and of no use to affirm while his readers doubted his claim to be an authorized expounder of the gospel. The apostle carefully guards his doctrine from certain specious but false and mischievous inferences from it (5:13 ff), and a few other minor matters are touched upon. But the one central purpose of the letter is to arrest the progress of that perverted gospel of salvation through works of law, which the Galatians were on the very point of accepting, and to win them back to faith in Jesus Christ apart from works of law,—the gospel which Paul himself had taught them and which he believed to be the only true gospel of Christ.

Incidentally the letter affords us most important information which we cannot suppose to have been any part of the apostle's plan to transmit to us, but which is not on that account the less valuable. Thus no other letter contains so full and objective a piece of autobiography as that

which he has given us in the first two chapters of this letter. Not less valuable is its contribution to the history of the apostolic age. It carries us into the very heart of the controversy between the narrow, judaistic conception of the gospel, and that more enlightened, broader view of which Paul was the chief champion in the first age of the church. The story is told indeed in part in Acts; but in the letter we have not so much an account of the controversy as a voice out from the conflict itself. The information is first hand; the colors have the freshness and vividness of nature. Not least important for us today is the testimony which the letter bears to the limits of that controversy. A just interpretation of the second chapter shows most clearly not that Peter and Paul were in sharp antagonism to one another, representatives of opposing factions, but that while they did not see altogether alike, and while, especially, Peter lacked the steadiness of vision necessary to make him stand firmly for the more liberal view, yet neither he nor even James opposed Paul. The opponents of Paul were certain "false brethren privily brought in . . . to spy out our liberty". They had indeed influence enough with the Jerusalem apostles to lead them to urge Paul to pursue a compromising course; but when Paul refused, the pillar-apostles virtually took his side and gave to him hands of fellowship, recognizing the legitimacy of his mission to the Gentiles.

From a doctrinal point of view the letter lacks the fullness and balance of the letter to the Romans. Yet its very heat and impetuosity give it a value of its own. There are doctrinal passages in this letter which, on the points of which they treat, have no equal in any other letter of the New Testament.

The first task of the student of the letter, however, is not to cull out the biographical matter of the letter or to master its doctrine, but to gain a clear conception of its course of thought. This is in the main easy to do. Such obscurities as exist pertain to details only. The plan of the letter is as follows:

I. INTRODUCTION.

Chap. 1:1-10.

1. Salutation, including assertion of apostolic authority.

1:1-5.

2. Indignant rebuke of the Galatian apostasy, virtually including the theme of the epistle: The gospel which Paul preached the true and only gospel.

1:6-10.

II. APOLOGETIC (PERSONAL) PORTION OF THE EPISTLE.

The general theme established by proving Paul's independence of all human authority and direct relation to Christ.

1:11-2:21.

1. Proposition: Paul received his gospel not from men, but immediately from Christ. 1: 11, 12.
 2. Proof: drawn from various periods of his life; including also in the latter part an exposition of his gospel. 1: 13—2: 21.
 - a. From his life before his conversion. 1: 13, 14.
 - b. From his conduct just after his conversion. 1: 15—17.
 - c. From his first visit to Jerusalem. 1: 18—24.
 - d. From his conduct on a subsequent visit to Jerusalem. 2: 1—10.
 - e. From his conduct in resisting Peter at Antioch. 2: 11—14.
 - f. Continuation of his address at Antioch so stated as to be for the Galatians also an exposition of the gospel which Paul preached. 2: 15—21.
- III. DOCTRINAL PORTION OF THE EPISTLE.
- The doctrine of justification by faith (the distinctive doctrine of Paul's gospel as against the judaizing heresy) defended on its own merits, chiefly by showing that the "heirs of Abraham" are such by faith in Christ, not by works of law. Chaps. 3, 4.
1. Appeal to the early Christian experience of the Galatians. 3: 1—5.
 2. Argument from the fact of Abraham's justification by faith. 3: 6—9.
 3. Argument from the curse which the law pronounces. 3: 10—14.
 4. Argument from the chronological order of promise and law. 3: 15—22.
 5. The temporary and inferior nature of the condition under law. 3: 23—4: 11.
 6. Fervent exhortation, appealing to the former affection of the Galatians for Paul. 4: 12—20.
 7. Allegorical argument from the two branches of the family of Abraham. 4: 21—31.
- IV. HORTATORY PORTION OF THE EPISTLE. 5: 1—6: 10.
1. Exhortations directly connected with the doctrine of the epistle. Chap. 5.
 - a. To stand fast in their freedom in Christ. 5: 1—12.
 - b. Not to convert liberty into license. 5: 13—26.
 2. More general exhortations. 6: 1—10.
- V. CONCLUSION. 6: 11—18.
1. Final warning against the judaizers. 6: 11—16.
 2. Appeal enforced by his own sufferings. 6: 17.
 3. Benediction. 6: 18.

Comparative-Religion Notes.

PRINCIPAL FAIRBAIRN ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF RELIGION.

The high expectations cherished in respect to the visit to the University of Chicago during the Summer Quarter of Principal A. M. Fairbairn of Mansfield College, Oxford, have been quite satisfied. For six lectures in two consecutive weeks nearly the whole University—students of theology, science, language and history alike—gathered to hear the latest word on what probably alone would have called together so mixed an assembly—religion. An old theme to be sure, and yet so rapid and successful has been the recent application to the old theme of the new method—the inductive and historical—that probably nine-tenths of the audience heard things as new to them as they were interesting and vital. One thing certainly the students must have learned, namely, that, though they had never yet visited it, there existed a whole continent of thought, named by the terms history, science and philosophy of religion, that this continent was being progressively explored, and that even the latest word spoken on it might prove not to be the last. The lecturer stands so eminent in his specialty, and faced some of its chief problems so squarely that those interested in progressive thought will expect some indication of the chief positions taken.

After an introductory lecture on the scope of philosophy of religion, and a second one on the philosophic basis of the same, in which latter theistic spiritualism was advocated, the subject proper was treated in substance as follows:

Archæology and ethnology can never show more than the origin of *religions, i. e.*, of the specific qualities of religions, while to philosophy must be reserved the problem of the origin of *religion* (singular), as generic to the human race. Quite similarly the origin of languages must be investigated by comparative philology, while that of language belongs to philosophy. "He who fancies imitation the basis of speech simply shows philosophic incompetence. No sound becomes speech until a mind stands behind it." Ethnology has done good service in proving—contra the superficial observations of such travelers as Sir R. Burton and Sir S. Baker—that all peoples possess a religion. Empiricism, on the other hand, errs when it seeks to trace the rise of religion in man previously uninformed by religious ideas. Renan says more truly that religion sprang up because man was man. When Mr. H. Spencer, the last of the great empiricists, brings together religious data without distinction of space and time, as he invariably does, he lies open to the charge of ignoring his own cardinal doctrine that environment counts for as much as organ-

ism. Nor can Mr. Spencer be allowed his thesis that the modern savage represents primitive man, until he bring those savages into historical connection with present civilized man. Indeed this lack of space and time relations sharply distinguishes anthropology from history. The former is merely graphical and individual, the latter nothing less than biological and organic. This Mr. A. Lang himself regrets. The successions in religious stages are therefore only imaginary, and can constitute no philosophy. No one has yet discovered a savage passing to a civilized faith. Not those at the source, but those near the mouth of the Nile are significant for human culture; not the Esquimaux, but the Greeks tell the story of man.

Study of the philosophy of religion arose about the end of the fifteenth century. The causes that led to it were: (1) The expansion of man's knowledge of the world, which raised the question of the relation of heathen to God; (2) The Reformation, which detached God from church polity, so that Zwingli could say that he expected to meet sages like Socrates in the future life; (3) The Renaissance which showed that the Greek possessed really noble thoughts. Cudworth was among the first to occupy this comprehensive viewpoint. Per contra A. Ross of Aberdeen berated Mohammed as an incarnation of the devil, an opinion which Voltaire approached, while Gibbon's epigram construed the famous dictum, "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet," as combining an eternal truth and a necessary falsehood. Similarly Bishop Butler defamed nature when, to redeem revealed religion from its supposed injustice, he charged the same upon natural religion, thereby trying to make two blacks equal one white. A new and better "analogy" is needed and can now be supplied by our improved knowledge of nature.

Three salient phenomena of our subject are: (1) the universality of religion, (2) the permanence of religion, and (3) the multiplicity of *religions*. Note that permanence differs from immutability. Indeed the death of religions forms the condition of the life of religion. What Homer loved Plato outlawed, but not therefore did religion die in Greece. Men grow, religions must grow with them.

Now the universality implies a common cause, while the multiplicity implies particular causes leading to varieties. Hence arise two chief problems: (1) What is the cause of religion? and (2) What are the causes that tend to varieties in religion?

But first a definition of religion will be necessary. Among the definitions given by empiricists, Comte's is abstract and does not distinguish existing religions, Mr. Lubbock's definition involves two concepts which cancel each other, Mr. Spencer's "seraphic wisdom" and Mr. Lang's definition alike fail, and Mr. Tylor's amounts to nothing more than an expression of his own idea as to primitive animism.

Among the philosophers, Kant, Schelling and Fichte reduced religion to morality, Fichte making God the moral order of the universe. Similar to

these views was Gautama's doctrine, and in recent times Mr. M. Arnold's "Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness." But the history of religion has recently made all such definitions useless by showing that religions were by no means always moral.

Another set of philosophers make religion consist entirely of feeling. So the famous Schliermacher in reaction from the Kantian rationalism. But no feeling of dependence can arise without a *thought* of some one on whom man depends. In fact religion involves both thought and feeling and action. "Religion is therefore, subjectively, consciousness of relation to suprasensible being ; objectively, expression of that consciousness in custom, institution and action." Note that God receives no mention here, and that of purpose, since the object of religion ranges from the trifling fetish to the absolute God. Religion further implies belief in a similar relation of the suprasensible being to man, and thus revelation correlates with faith. Such revelation must not be considered restricted to religions recorded in a book.

Besides defining religion we must define evolution. This is an old idea—both Eastern and Western, both Indian and Greek, whether under form of emanation or incubation. Hegel devised a development in logical process. "Darwin contributed minute observation of phenomena, setting in sensuous terms a great metaphysical idea."

Now evolution is always only modal as distinguished from causal, and, therefore, can never really conflict with theism, which may always ask where is the arena, what the end, and who the cause. But Tyndall's famous phrase, "matter the promise and *potency* of all life" would constitute evolution a causal fact. Per contra evolution has peculiar value for theism in that it directs attention to the end in order to learn the significance of the beginning and middle. The beginning is quite a different thing from the cause. The latter must be learned from inspection of the whole course, with increasing attention as progress prevails and most of all at the culmination. No doubt religion began, in part, as man in nature, but neither remains there. Both are fully explicable only through their end.

Having defined religion and evolution, we are now prepared to consider the three factors in the evolution of religion, which are the material, the formal and the ideal. The material factor supplies the *content* or body of the religion, and consists of man ; the formal factor supplies the particular *form*, and consists of nature ; the ideal factor *unifies* and directs the other two, and is God. The three stand in organic unity. Man can live and think only by nature, and God acts on man through nature.

More particularly as to the material factor it must be a primary cause, since it is to explain a universal fact, religion. It cannot be fear, or chance, or personifying tendency, priestly or kingly intrigue, or misinterpreted dreams, rather the material factor of religion arises as a necessity of man's nature. Hence those that reject one form of religion must devise another. Thus J. S. Mill took as a religious object his deceased wife, Schopenhauer took will, von

Hartmann took the unconscious, Spinoza took substance, and Mr. Spencer takes force. The material factor is ever creative and progressively realized. Thus the moral-player's deity is far surpassed by God as conceived by Milton.

The formal factor is the nature that surrounds man and the history behind him, and this it is that causes the variation in religions. Thus in the Rigveda names for the deities are derived from nature. Brahm *grows* into the gods, men and things. From this results pantheism and a lack of certain ideas, much to the surprise of Westerners, such as duty and individuality. Per contra the Semitic religions arose amid a desert nature where life could not well be conceived as immanent. Hence names for power and the emotions it evokes are used for the deities. This conception is transcendent and never allowed pantheism to arise as a native Semitic product. Averroes reached it only in touch with Aristotle, and the pantheism of Spinoza is akosmism—God alone, no world—whereas in Brahmanism the world is God.

A second component in the formal factor is nature as qualified by history. The more primitive man, the greater the influence of *nature* upon his conception of deity; the longer his remembered past, the greater the influence of *man* upon that conception. Thus Vedic deities are conceived as simultaneous, each independent of the other, just as spheres of nature were supposed to be, while the Homeric deities were conceived as successive in accord with the Greek social fabric. Each of these viewpoints dominates everything else in the religion. Thus images in India are symbolic, in Greece anthropomorphic, and, provided the *ἄνθρωπος* be good, such anthropomorphism can only benefit. Again, pantheism in India made future existence take place by metempsychosis, while in Greece, the more the deities were anthropomorphized, the more continued personal being became conceivable. In Homer the shades are unhappy, with Socrates and Plato much improvement is made.

The third element of the formal factor consists of society and the state. The Semitic social unit of the family with the patriarch supreme led to a conception of deity as absolute, and made theocracy native to the Semite. Per contra, Indian society was divided into castes with the priestly Brahmanic caste at their head. The hymns and sacrifices of these Brahmans were necessary to the success alike of warriors and workmen, and hence they and their Brahma with all the logical consequences of the same, have endured through the ages while conquerors have entered India and left it again.

A fourth element in the formal factor is personality. This comes later in development and is very potent. In non-Semitic religions the personal element is rare, in Semitic common. India, the most religious of lands, has yet rarely presented a great religious person. Gautama Buddha is notable, but his power is explicable rather by later imaginings. Zoroaster and Confucius exhaust the list outside the Semitic race, while within it we find David, Moses, Isaiah, Paul and Mohammed. Christ stands in the same order. Here plainly a transcendent god favors transcendent personality. Pantheism leads to necessity and moral indifference. Transcendent religions afford freedom

for the god, though perhaps only necessity for man. Thus Islam presents a necessity of human will in subjection to the divine, but in Hinduism the necessity is inherent in matter. Ethical ideas can enter religion only through this transcendent element. Thus the ethics of Jesus the Christ and of Gautama the Buddha are kindred, because both center in a great personality.

Finally, the constant relation of the material and formal factors implies a great will working throughout history. This ideal factor appears especially in the creation alike of the great persons and their environments. The process culminates in Jesus of Nazareth who combines the truth both of immanence and transcendence, in that equally as veritable man and veritable God he stepped forward to enlighten groping humanity.

While criticism of these valuable lectures will not be attempted here and consequently no proofs advanced, a warning on two very general points may prove useful to those not conversant with the new science of comparative religion. First, the inductions made are based on data drawn from but four peoples, the Indians, Greeks, Hebrews, and Arabs. Other students of the science would require inclusion of the remaining peoples of these same Indo-Keltic and Semitic races, and of the peoples of the third great historic race, the Mongol, as also of the several savage races. Second, the rise of religions is traced wholly to naturism (nature-worship), whereas other students would require inclusion of the phenomena of animism (spirit worship). For a masterly statement of the respective merits of naturism and animism, and of the need to include *all* human phenomena among *all* peoples in the inductions of the science of religion, consult Saussaye's *Lehrbuch der Religionsgeschichte*.

E. B.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE GOSPEL AND THE GOSPELS. By DR. BERNHARD WEISS. Translated in the *Hartford Seminary Record*, April, 1895, by OZARA S. DAVIS.

The earliest records of the apostolic church—the letters of Paul—give but few historical facts from the life of Christ and but very few quotations from his words. Likewise the writings of the other apostles are void of all narrative of fact or of quotation. It is certain, therefore, that the earliest Christianity was not spiritually nourished by narratives from the life of the Lord, nor by his words. The gospel of the apostles was *the fact* of the death and resurrection. The apostolic conception of Jesus was not that he came to bring new knowledge in the field of religion or morals, but to realize the religio-ethical ideal which had long lived in Israel as the belief and the hope of all pious men, but which could be worked out in humanity only through the promised Saviour from the power of sin and death. Christianity is not founded on traditions from the life of Jesus, but on faith in the apostolic saving message in “the gospel without the gospels.” “If now we find in this faith of the apostles all that our sinful souls thirsting for peace with God crave, all that furnishes us in our moral weakness a power victorious over the world, and in all earthly sorrow an external consolation, what, indeed, shall we do, except to believe what they believed and confess what they confessed?” Vital, saving belief, *i. e.*, unshaken trust in the free gift of God in Christ, is no conviction of any facts whatever, no assent to any teaching whatever. But when one is once in possession of the faith, the very joy in it changes to joy in the facts which the faith presupposes.

Every historical tradition is open to criticism. It is possible to conceive that the gospel narratives grew up necessarily from the *a priori* ideas concerning the history of Jesus which resulted from faith in his person. And yet if Christianity lived for thirty or forty years until the gospels were written, fed by only such preaching as we find illustrated in the epistles, it is impossible that a faith born of such preaching would ever have needed to imagine any facts whatever. If naught but the epistles had been left us, our faith would be none other than it is today. No exact, dated records of the deeds of Christ's life is possible. The gospels are not dry chronicles, but only another form of the gospel which the apostolic epistles make known unto us. We believe the gospels because they show how the apostles apprehended these facts in faith and attested their truth for the foundation and increase of the faith of the churches. Faith in the narratives is primarily a faith in the credibility of the witnesses.

The gospels had their beginning in Jerusalem among his disciples and companions. But even here no interest was taken in completing them, but only in inculcating them as the unchangeable foundation of the life of the community. This original document was a simple collection of the words of the Lord. Another document of a slightly different character was written in Rome. Both of these documents Luke used. And last in Ephesus the apostle John wrote, raising the history of Jesus out of the narrow, national grounds in which it rooted, and showing us the form of the world-Saviour as he moves through the history of the church.

One must not go too far in simplifying the gospel for the sake of making it more comprehensible. To many dogmatic speculation is unintelligible because there seems to be nothing *real* in it. But many will be aided by a study of Jesus' life and motives to appreciate in him these same peculiar doctrines of Christianity and to understand in general their real significance.

This is a very timely discussion. The argument rests on the capability of the Christian consciousness to verify the testimony of the Scripture that faith has as its object a real and living person. Thus the emphasis of the argument is transferred from the credibility of the narrative to the credibility of the experience, and here Christianity is a unit unchanging from the beginning to the end of the Christian era. Christian theology has sometimes erred in emphasizing specific doctrines, but it has not erred in building its faith on the apostolic conception of Christ's work and teaching, verified by ever renewed Christian experience.

C. E. W.

"THOU HAST SAID," "THOU SAYEST," IN THE ANSWERS OF JESUS. By PROFESSOR J. HENRY THAYER, in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Parts I. and II., 1894. Pages 40-49.

The former phrase is the reply, according to Matthew, to the question of Judas at the Supper (26:25) and to the adjuration of the high-priest at the Trial (26:64). The latter is the response to Pilate, according to all four Evangelists (Matt. 27:11, Mark 15:2, Luke 23:3, John 18:37). This answer in both its forms has been understood by the great majority of modern interpreters to be a solemn and emphatic affirmation. And the correctness of this interpretation is thought to be shown by the fact that Mark's account (14:62) of the scene before the Sanhedrin employs, instead of Matthew's "Thou hast said," the unequivocal words "I am." Where further corroboration of this interpretation is attempted, we are for the most part told, in general terms, that the like formula of affirmation occurs in Greek and rabbinical writings.

But the inadequacy of the supposed classical parallels adduced by Wetstein (on Matt. 26:25) has been exposed by Lücke (on John, vol. ii., p. 741 n.). And the rabbinical parallels adduced by Schoettgen (on Matt. 26:25) are quite surely erroneous. Neither Lightfoot, Wagenseil, Buxtorf, Meuschen, nor any Hebrew specialist I have consulted, attempts to shed light upon the expression from rabbinical sources. Wünsche, after quoting the

phrase from Matt. 26:25, merely remarks: "To an ensnaring question, the Rabbins were wont to give an ambiguous answer." Pieritz, also, denies that the phrase is an affirmation (in *The Gospels from the Rabbinical Point of View*). The Greek Old Testament and Apocrypha seem not to contain the phrase or its equivalent; and the early versions, from the nature of the case, furnish little or no aid in determining its meaning.

As to the internal indications of the meaning of the phrase, the first thing that strikes us is the uniform presence of the pronoun "Thou." In every instance the form of the question is such as to indicate that special significance of some sort attaches to the pronoun in the answer. As for example the question of Judas "Is it I, Rabbi?" Jesus' reply "Thou hast said" is no mere "yes," but a "yes" from the mouth of the *questioner*. "Thine own lips have answered the question which thy suspicious conscience could not refrain from asking." And the pronoun has a similar force in Jesus' response to the high priest's adjuration and Pilate's inquiry. Still stronger indications that these phrases are not to be interpreted as simple, though solemn, affirmations arise from the fact that the phrases will not always bear that meaning, as in John 18:37, Luke 22:70, and at the arraignment before the Sanhedrin.

In short, the absence of any conclusive evidence that the formula we are considering was current as an unequivocal affirmation, and the embarrassments we encounter on attempting to apply it in that sense to the biblical narratives warrant us, as it seems to me, in discarding that view of it. It seems to be far more naturally taken as equivalent to such phrases in our vernacular as "So *you* say," and the like. The context, the tone, the circumstances of the case, must determine its exact meaning in a given instance. As an answer to Judas it is unquestionably an affirmation—and an admonition besides. As a reply to Pilate, it is non-committal, and indicates self-respecting reserve.

This view of these formulas is not an innovation. For instance, it was the view of Origen in the third century, of Victor of Antioch in the fifth, of Radbertus in the ninth, of Theophylact in the eleventh. Since the sixteenth century, mainly because of Grotius' support, and that of Schoettgen and Wetstein, the simple affirmation interpretation has held the field. But there occasionally has been doubt of it expressed, and Westcott very emphatically rejected it, saying on John 18:37: "The Lord neither definitely accepts nor rejects the title. He leaves the claim as Pilate had put it forward."

Professor Thayer has done well to revive this less common interpretation. The case as he presents it is a fairly strong one, and should receive due consideration. If it does not clear up all the difficulties connected with the phrases, it seems to accomplish much in that direction. It also has the merit of being a natural meaning for the words—the one which would first occur to the reader if the pronoun were italicised as in the Greek.

C. W. V.

Notes and Opinions.

Demoniacal Possession.—In connection with the review of the book of Dr. Nevius in this issue, it may not be uninteresting to add the testimony of another foreign missionary as to the common understanding of the matter in China. In *The Independent* for 1894 (p. 207) Rev. John Ross narrated an instance of the cure of a case of apparent possession. In reply to a letter from one of the editors of this journal asking for more detailed information, he writes declining from lack of time to comply with the request, but adding the following statement: "All mental derangement Chinese divide into (1) idiocy, (2) madness, (3) demoniacal possession. The former two are constant, the last intermittent. In the former two the individual is always the same and shows his own personality; in the last he seems to be an entirely different being. Several have been cured of the last by faith in Jesus. I have not heard of any other mode of cure. The Chinese now believe that the religion of Jesus can cure such cases. For the case of which I wrote I can vouch, and for its permanent cure, and for one other peculiar one. That numbers are suffering from this peculiar and intermittent trouble I am also well aware; as that the Chinese invariably ascribe that trouble to demoniacal possession. I have, however, never allowed myself to theorize on the subject, as I have not with sufficient observation satisfied myself of all the conditions."

The Book of Deuteronomy.—Dr. Driver's estimate of the Book of Deuteronomy may be seen in the preface to his recently published commentary on the book, where he says: "Deuteronomy stands out conspicuously in the literature of the Old Testament; it has important relations, literary, theological and historical, with other parts of the Old Testament; it possesses itself a profound moral and spiritual significance; it is an epoch-making expression of the life and feeling of the prophetic nation. I have done my best to give due prominence to these and similar characteristic features; and by pointing out both the spiritual and other factors which Deuteronomy presupposes, and the spiritual and other influences which either originated with it, or received from it a fresh impulse, to define the position which it occupies in the national and religious history of Israel. Deuteronomy, moreover, by many of the observances which it enjoins, bears witness to the fact that Israel's civilization, though permeated by a different spirit from that of other ancient nations, was nevertheless reared upon the same material basis; and much light may often be thrown, both upon the institutions and customs to which it alludes, and upon the manner in which they are treated by the Hebrew legislator, from the archæological researches of recent years. Nor is this all. The

study of Deuteronomy carries the reader into the very heart of the critical problems which arise in connection with the Old Testament. At almost every step, especially in the central, legislative part (chs. 12-26), the question of the relation of Deuteronomy to other parts of the Pentateuch forces itself upon the student's attention." "As a work of the Mosaic age, Deuteronomy, I must own, though intelligible *if it stood perfectly alone*—that is, if the history of Israel had been other than it was,—does not seem to me to be intelligible when viewed in the light shed upon it by other parts of the Old Testament; a study of it in that light reveals too many features which are inconsistent with such a supposition. The entire secret of its composition, and the full nature of the sources of which its author availed himself, we cannot hope to discover; but enough is clear to show that, however regretfully we may abandon it, the traditional view of its origin and authorship cannot be maintained. The adoption of this verdict of criticism implies no detraction either from the inspired authority of Deuteronomy, or from its ethical and religious value. Deuteronomy marks a stage in the divine education of the chosen people: but the methods of God's spiritual providence are analogous to those of his natural providence: the revelation of himself to man was accomplished not once for all, but through many diverse channels (Heb. 1:1), and by a gradual historical process; and the stage in that process to which Deuteronomy belongs is not the age of Moses, but a later age. Deuteronomy gathers up the spiritual lessons and experiences not of a single lifetime, but of many generations of God-inspired men. It is a nobly conceived endeavor to stir the conscience of the individual Israelite, and to infuse Israel's whole national life with new spiritual and moral energy. And in virtue of the wonderful combination of the national with the universal, which characterizes the higher teaching of the Old Testament, it fulfils a yet wider mission; it speaks in accents which all can still understand; it appeals to motives and principles which can never lose their validity and truth so long as human nature remains what it is; it is the bearer of a message for all time."

The Sources of New Testament Greek.—The excellent book bearing this title which has recently appeared from the pen of Rev. H. H. A. Kennedy gives a careful discussion of the influence of the Septuagint on the vocabulary of the New Testament. Dr. Hatch has said in his *Essays in Biblical Greek*: "The great majority of New Testament words are words which, though for the most part common to biblical and contemporary secular Greek, express in their biblical use the conceptions of a Semitic race, and which must consequently be examined by the light of the cognate documents which form the LXX." (p. 34). And again, "Biblical Greek is thus a language which stands by itself. What we have to find out in studying it is what meaning certain Greek words conveyed to a Semitic mind." The main facts as to the vocabulary of the New Testament as given by Mr. Kennedy are these: (1) The whole number of words used (excluding all proper names and their deriva-

tives) is about 4800. (2) About 950 of these are post-Aristotelian, of which over 300 are found also in the Septuagint. (3) There are about 150 words in all which are strictly peculiar to the Septuagint and the New Testament. (4) There are, roughly speaking, about 550 words which may be termed "Biblical," that is, found either in the New Testament alone, or, besides, only in the Septuagint. That is, about 12 per cent. of the total vocabulary of the New Testament is "Biblical." (5) About 30 per cent. of the total number of "Biblical" words in the New Testament occur in the Septuagint. (6) About 32 per cent. of the words found in the New Testament alone with special "Biblical" meaning occur in the LXX. The facts as gathered by Mr. Kennedy indicate that Dr. Hatch's statements were too strong and too inclusive.

The main conclusions of the book are thus summarized: "The LXX. is the first entire group of writings composed in the colloquial language of everyday life. Seeing that it is a literal translation of Hebrew books, and that it has been carried out by men of Jewish birth, it has been deeply impregnated with Semitic characteristics. Yet these do not prevent it from exhibiting clearly the condition and tendencies of the popular Greek of its time. On the one hand, it has many elements in common with the writers of the Common Dialect; on the other, it is often a transcript of the vernacular. But the predominant features in its vocabulary are: (1) the creation of a theological terminology rendered necessary by the original of which it is a translation; and (2) the expression in Greek form of special Jewish conceptions and customs due to the same cause. There can be no question that its vocabulary has influenced that of the New Testament. The earliest Christian writers, in proclaiming the new faith, had to express in words deep theological ideas, unheard of in the old world. It was natural that, in making this attempt, they should take for their model a vocabulary already formed. These writers, moreover, were Jews. Their whole view of things was penetrated with Hebrew modes of thought. Accordingly, they could not fail to make copious use of a type of language already adapted to their special requirements. But the influence of the Septuagint on the vocabulary of the New Testament must not be exaggerated. Caution is necessary in determining that which is to be regarded as *usage* in biblical Greek, seeing that the LXX. is a translation done by unskilful hands, and that ignorance of Greek or ignorance of Hebrew is often responsible for phenomena of vocabulary which are peculiar to the biblical language. When we consider the exceptional importance of the Greek Bible to the New Testament writers, the astonishing fact is that its influence on their vocabulary is not incomparably greater than it is found to be."

"That which really sets the LXX. and New Testament, as Greek books, in a class by themselves, is the colloquial language in which both are written. Though the vocabulary of the New Testament moves on a higher plane, it is essentially "popular" in character, and both groups of writings acquire, from the linguistic point of view, a unique importance, as the only literary monu-

ments extant of the vernacular Greek of the post-Alexandrian period. But, besides, this popular spoken language, as exhibited by the LXX. and New Testament, is of exceptional value for another reason, inasmuch as it connects the "oral tradition" of the past with the ordinary vernacular of today, and reveals with startling clearness that wonderful organic unity which makes the language of Greece, through all its complex developments, a living, undivided whole."

The Conservative View of the Bible.—A series of five articles upon "The Holy Scriptures and Modern Criticism" have been recently contributed to the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift* by Professor Volck, of Dorpat. They set forth in a most able way the present position of the reasonable conservative school of biblical scholars. The *Independent* gives an admirably prepared synopsis of Dr. Volck's views, which we take the liberty to reproduce here as worthy of the widest dissemination:

1. The Old Testament Scriptures are the documentary reports (*Urkunden*) of the divinely conducted history of Israel, the monuments of the revelations and providential guidance of God preparing and paving the way for future redemption, and as such they are the Word of God for the people of God in the process of the development of this redemption, which is the complete revelation of God in Christ Jesus. This then is the thesis that determines the relation of the Scriptures to the Word of God.

2. As the history of Israel, because its aim is to prepare for the coming of Jesus Christ, differs specifically from the history of all other peoples, thus, too, the literary monuments of this history, namely the Old Testament Scriptures, differ from all other literary productions which are products of extra-Israelitish life.

3. The origin of the Scriptures of the Old Testament is to be ascribed to the coöperation of the same factors which held sway in the historical development of Israel's history—namely, on the one hand, the free unfolding of the divine Spirit within the communion of believers selected by God—*i. e.*, the people of Israel—and, on the other, the free activity of the human factor over this divine revelation. This self-manifestation of the Spirit of God in and within the sacred writers, who still maintained their individual freedom and peculiarities, is called inspiration.

4. In the collecting and the canonization of the sacred Scriptures we must recognize a continuous activity of the same Holy Spirit to whom we ascribe their origin.

5. Like all literatures of antiquity, the Old Testament Scriptures also are the legitimate objects of critical investigations. But the background out of which these writings grew is that of the historical unfolding of the plans of God for the salvation of man; and this must be recognized in passing judgment upon them, and he who judges them "must himself be a participant in

that spiritual life which the Old Testament revelation and its historical records have brought forth and have perfected in the New Covenant."

6. The investigation of the Scriptures, in the first instance, pertains to the text. The principles and methods of this process are learned from the science and history of textual criticism.

7. The second purpose of biblical investigation is the determination of the historical surroundings conditioning the different parts of the collection of sacred writings, the answer to the questions as to when, for whom, and by whom they were written, under what circumstances they were composed, and the purposes in view. The freedom of such an investigation dare not be curtailed by traditional views on these subjects, nor by marking out of the results to be secured as the outcome of the study, *e. g.*, through a presupposed opinion as to the authenticity or integrity of a book. The results of modern criticism are to be conscientiously investigated, and what is found scientifically settled is to be accepted; and, in general, the fact of a human mediumship in the transmission of the divine revelation is not to be lost sight of, but is to be estimated at its proper valuation.

8. If the Scriptures are, in their essence, the documentary evidences and reports of the communion between God and man, as this fact is prepared in the Old Testament phase and completed and perfected in the New Testament stage; then, when we are considering the contents of these writings—*i. e.*, determining the various steps in the gradual development of revelation in word and deed—all the particular data in the contents of the Scriptures are to be judged in their relation to the historical development of the plan of salvation. In relation to this fundamental idea and scheme individual data are to be estimated as the sure word of God. On the other hand, absolute inerrancy cannot be claimed in those cases where matters are mentioned that either do not belong to the domain of the historical development of God's plan of salvation, or, as unessential, in nowise affect the substance of this process; or in regard to such that pertain to the secular sciences, *i. e.*, in reporting which the sacred writers draw only upon their observation of their natural powers and faculties.

9. Although the collection of the sacred Scriptures did not take place without the guidance of the Holy Spirit, yet in this work the human factor was active to the greatest degree, and accordingly here the possibility of an error is all the more possible.

10. If the investigation of the Scriptures in accordance with these principles, their claim to be recognized and accepted by the Church, is the business and duty of a scientific theology which cannot be dispensed with, then, on the other hand, it must not be forgotten that the faith placed by the Church in the Scriptures as the authoritative Word of God precedes this scientific investigation, which latter can produce only the *fides humana*, but never the *fides divina*.

Work and Workers.

PROFESSOR CHARLES J. LITTLE, D.D., has been made President of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., to succeed the late Dr. H. B. Ridgaway.

THE new critical edition of Josephus' Works, by Professor B. Niese, of Marburg, is now complete in six volumes, of which the first four contain the *Antiquities*, the fifth contains the *Against Apion*, and the sixth the *Jewish War*.

BYINGTON'S Chart of Jewish National History (Philadelphia, Wattles, \$1.00) in size six by three and one-half feet, printed in five colors and mounted on rollers, is another fairly successful attempt to exhibit certain features of biblical history to the eye. The names of the more prominent individuals and events of the history appear in places where they are commonly understood to belong, and the names of the historical books appear opposite the places where the history recorded by them is indicated in the color-line. Only three dates are given, 1000 B. C., 500 B. C., and 70 A. D. It makes no attempt to give more than an outline, and of course exhibits only the surface of the history.

A COURSE of general lectures, six in number, upon the *Philosophy of Religion* was given at The University of Chicago during July, by Principal A. M. Fairbairn, M.A., D.D., of Mansfield College, Oxford. The titles were as follows: (1) Philosophy of Religion; its Ideas, Methods and Scope. (2) The Philosophical Basis of Theism applied to Nature and History. (3) Anthropology and the Origin of Religion. (4) The Idea and History of Religion in Modern Philosophy. (5) The Factors of Evolution in Religion. (6) The Causes of Variation in Religion. In addition to these, two other lectures were given, one upon *The Natural and the Supernatural Christ*, the other upon *The History of Oxford*.

THERE has begun in Paris (Firmin-Didot & Cie.) the publication of a new edition of the writings of the Syriac Church Fathers, under the title *Patrologia Syriaca*. The work is edited by Dr. F. Graffin, Professor of Syriac in the Catholic Institute of Paris. The first volume, now ready, contains the Homilies of Aphraates, first part. One volume is to be published annually, at \$6.00 per volume, until the work is complete; how many volumes there will be in all remains to be seen. The type to be used for this edition has been especially made for the occasion, with the vowel points cast on the same body with the consonants, and is a reproduction of the finest known forms written in Western Syriac characters. This new work is to be a companion series to Abbé Migne's Greek and Latin Patrologies, which contain all the Greek and Latin works of ancient Christian literature, of which the Latin portion alone contains two hundred and twenty-two volumes, and is sold ordinarily for about three hundred dollars.

PROFESSOR SAMUEL HARRIS, D.D., LL.D., who has for many years occupied the chair of Systematic Theology in the Theological Department of Yale University, has found it necessary on account of advancing years to withdraw from class-room work. The two volumes published during the course of his Yale Professorship, *The Philosophical Basis of Theism* and *The Self-Revelation of God* will, however, continue his teaching for many years to come. Dr. Harris has hoped to publish a third volume, a companion to these first two, a treatise on Systematic Theology. It will be the earnest wish of every student of theology that this hope may be realized. The chair thus left vacant in Yale Divinity School has been filled by the appointment of Professor George B. Stevens, Ph.D., D.D., who previously occupied the chair of New Testament Interpretation. At the same time that Professor Stevens assumes the new position he issues a volume pertaining to the new department, entitled *Doctrine and Life: A Study of Some of the Principal Truths of the Christian Religion in their Relation to Christian Experience*.

THE Presbyterians of the Maritime Provinces of Canada held their first Summer School of Theology at their college in Halifax, N. S., from July 16 to 26. About forty ministers and a number of laymen were in attendance. The forenoons were devoted to lectures, followed by discussion; the afternoons to recreation, and the evenings to conferences on congregational work. The lectures were given by the four professors of the college: Pollok, Currie, Gordon and Falconer; Professor MacGregor, of Dalhousie University, Halifax; Principal Grant, of Queen's University, Kingston, and Dr. McCurdy, of Toronto University. While the conferences were opened by leading ministers of the Maritime Synod, Principal Pollok delivered four lectures on "The Covenanting Age of Scottish History;" Dr. Currie, four lectures on "Pentateuchal Criticism;" Dr. Gordon, three lectures on "Revelation;" Professor Falconer, three lectures on "The Trustworthiness of the Historical Books of the New Testament;" Dr. MacGregor, one lecture on "Science and the Argument from Design;" Principal Grant, three lectures on "Comparative Religion," and Dr. McCurdy, three lectures on his special subject, viz., Lecture I. "Domestic Relations of the Hebrews and their Significance." Lecture II. "Leading Motives of Early Hebrew History." Lecture III. "Hezekiah, Sennacherib and Isaiah." So successful was the school felt to be that it was unanimously voted by the members to have another next summer.

A PROPOSAL was made by Professor J. H. Thayer, D.D., of Harvard University, at the last meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, which has met with favor. It contemplated the establishment at some convenient point in Palestine, presumably at Jerusalem, of an American School of Biblical Research similar to those which have been founded at Athens and lately at Rome for classical studies. Professor T. F. Wright, U. S. Secretary of the *Palestine Exploration Fund*, warmly supports the project in the *Biblia* for July, and says: "It has been for years the wish of the Protestant Syrian College at Beyrout to establish such a school, and it has offered marked

advantages to students; but that city is not in Palestine, and is generally visited by travelers only as a port of entry or departure, especially the latter. Such a school would certainly draw to itself young men who will thus complete their preparation for the ministry or for professorships. Some of the seminaries already have fellowships which would find new value in this way, and all of them will appreciate the opportunity thus afforded. Hitherto such men have gone to Germany and have gained much linguistic lore, but they have failed to make the acquaintance of the Oriental mind and have failed to gain that glowing interest in Bible facts and incidents which makes preaching and teaching vivid and forcible. I hope and believe that the time has come, now that our countryman Bliss is so nobly leading in the work of exploration, when Americans will establish this needed school and make it helpful in all the ways which will be open to it, especially in the study of language and geography, and in the field of exploration."

AN INFORMING article upon the climate of Palestine by Dr. Thomas Chaplin is in substance reproduced editorially by the *Expository Times* for June. It has been recently maintained by some that the climate of Palestine is undergoing a change—that the "latter rains" are being "restored," the prophecies relating to them are being fulfilled, and so a new era of fruitfulness and prosperity is dawning upon the land. All this Dr. Chaplin denies, claiming that a restoration of the "latter rain" is surely impossible if it has never been taken away. The Jewish civil year, which begins in September or October, is divided by the weather into two parts. There is first a long rainy season which covers about seven months, and then there is a long dry season which lasts for about five months. During the rainy season of seven months there fall three "rains;" (1) the early rain, which moistens the land and fits it for the reception of the seed, and is consequently the signal for the commencement of plowing; (2) the copious winter rain which saturates the earth, fills the cisterns and pools, and replenishes the springs; (3) the latter or spring rain, without which the harvest would be a failure, for it enlarges the ears of corn and enables the wheat and barley to support the dry heat of the summer. The early rains begin in October or November, and continue until the middle of December. The heavy winter rains begin about the middle of December and continue well into or even to the end of March, and then follow the latter or spring rains which continue until April or May. These three "rains" are referred to in Jer. 5:24, which should read: "Let us now fear the Lord our God, who giveth *geshem* and *ybreh* and *malkôsh* in its season." So also in Hos. 6:3 and Joel 2:23, 24. The *geshem* is always the winter rain (*cf.* Song of Sol. 2:11, 12). There is no indication that the climate of Palestine has changed since the days of the prophets. Since 1861 accurate measurements of the rainfall in Jerusalem have been made. From 1861 to 1876 the average rainfall was 22.26 inches. From 1876 to 1892 the fall was 28.20 inches, showing an increase of 5.94 inches. But this variation gives only a slender basis for believing that the climate of Palestine is changing.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

GENERAL NOTES.

Although four of the Institute summer schools are still in progress as this number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD* goes to press, it is possible to give reports of some interest from all. The work at Chautauqua, N. Y., is now in its eighth year as regularly organized Bible work distinguished from the college work. The six weeks of the school have been divided into two sections of three weeks each. All the work has centered about Hebrew History, in order that it might be most helpful to the Sunday school teacher. One hour a day has been devoted to the study of Hebrew history, covering the entire period from the Judges to the Exile. This class has had an average attendance of ninety; the work in the New Testament has been made to harmonize with that of the Old in subject. It has been equally well attended. The instructors in these courses have been Professor Ira M. Price of the University of Chicago, Professor Frank K. Sanders of Yale University, Professor R. F. Weidner of Chicago, Professor Rush Rhees of Newton Centre. President Harper has given a course in the Psalms, taking up the psalms belonging to different periods of Israelitish history. The work in Hebrew and New Testament Greek has been carried through the entire six weeks. The beginners in Hebrew have accomplished a sufficient amount of work to enable them to receive credit for a year's work in Hebrew in a seminary. This is remarkable progress for six weeks, but when one considers that the student of Hebrew is expected to spend five hours a day at least in his study and recitation, the result is not to be wondered at. Nearly 200 students have been enrolled in the various classes. They represent almost every occupation in life and nearly every religious denomination. The work at Chautauqua has from the beginning been in the hands of the best teachers. The foundation, therefore, which a teacher finds for work with the classes at Chautauqua is exceptionally good. Many of the students return from year to year, and the classes may thereby be carried along on the basis of work done in previous years.

In the University of Chicago the summer courses of the first term which has just been completed have been under the charge of President Harper, Professor R. F. Harper, Dr. Breasted, Mr. Votaw, Professor Mathews and Dr. Arnolt. The work in this institution differs from that in other summer schools in requiring regular university work under university restrictions on the part of the students. While the requirements for admission are not so rigid as in the other quarters of the year, the standard of work is not lowered,

and therefore the constituency of the classes is necessarily higher than in other summer schools. In the beginning Hebrew work there have been twenty students enrolled and in the advanced work in Hebrew a still larger number. Nine persons have also been studying Arabic and eight have taken up Assyrian. A course has been given by Professor Shailer Mathews on "The Social History of New Testament Times," and the New Testament Courses by Mr. Votaw. The lectures of Principal Fairbairn of Mansfield College, Oxford, aroused much interest and enthusiasm. The largest hall available on the campus was crowded daily. The subject of the lecture was "The Philosophy of Religion." Professor Bruce of Glasgow commences with the second term two courses of lectures, one on Agnosticism, and the other on "The Historical Foundations of Faith." Professor Gregory of Leipzig begins his work in New Testament Greek with the second term.

At the Bay View Assembly two instructors were present, Professor Frank K. Sanders of Yale, and Professor Edward L. Parks of Atlanta, Ga. Two courses were given by each instructor,—a general course by each on methods of Bible teaching and study, and a special course on Old Testament history and literature from the book of Job. The enrollment (twenty-eight) was large in consideration of the fact that a tuition fee corresponding to the fees in other departments was charged. This is one of the few assemblies where biblical instruction is placed on the same plane with other instruction. Free biblical instruction has unfortunately come to be expected as a matter of course. Several open conferences on the work of the Institute were held.

The Central New York assembly is still in session. Rev. Dean A. Walker is presenting the subject of Messianic Prophecy in a course of ten lectures to a general audience, there being no organized school at this place.

At the Silver Lake Assembly Mr. Walker gave eighteen lectures on the Christ in Prophecy and Fulfilment, and on the Life of Christ. Notwithstanding a most unfavorable hour of the day and amid many other attractions, Mr. Walker succeeded in holding a good number of students and establishing a permanent interest in systematic Bible study at the Silver Lake Assembly.

At Lake Madison, South Dakota, Rev. Edward L. Parks gave ten interesting lectures on the Bible from an Educational Point of View. Although this is one of the smaller assemblies, the Bible work has been conducted systematically for some years and the attendance was as good as at some of the larger assemblies.

Professor Lincoln Hulley of Bucknell University conducted both the Lakeside, Ohio, and Monteagle, Tenn. Schools. The latter of these is still in progress and no reports have been received. This is the first season of Institute work at an assembly so far south as Monteagle. An effort will be made to add other southern assemblies next season. The work at Lakeside is in its third year, and has been constantly growing in interest. Hebrew as well as the English Bible is taught. There is an average daily attendance of

200 in the English Bible classes, and on special days there were as many as 600 present. The audience at Lakewood expressed its approval of the Institute work at that assembly by a rising vote upon resolutions of approval which were presented by one of the class.

At Ottawa, Kas., Dr. Charles F. Kent organized the first work of the Institute in connection with that assembly. His lectures upon Hebrew History were attended by several hundred people daily. No regular class work was introduced, as so many were anxious to hear the lectures that they were necessarily made public. The work was so successful that it will be continued from year to year.

At Winfield, Kas., the Rev. H. L. Willett, Field Secretary of the Institute, gave two courses of study; one in the Old Testament and one in the New. Here, as at Ottawa, the work was most enthusiastically received. These two assemblies represent the best element of the West. They are well established, Ottawa being one of the oldest Chautauqua assemblies. The people who attend them are enthusiastic, but with an enthusiasm which lasts. And there is no question but that Bible study in western towns will receive a great incentive from the work done at these assemblies this year.

Work is now in progress at Macatawa Park, Mich., under the direction of Rev. H. L. Willett, and before this journal reaches its readers, a school at Howell, Mich., covering one week of work with Professor Charles F. Kent and Mr. C. W. Votaw will have closed. Looking back over the summer there seems to be many facts to inspire the Institute workers, and steady healthful growth which promises much for the future.

As the summer work closes, we turn with interest to the work of the winter which will spread itself from Maine to California and through many foreign lands. Five thousand people were last year receiving instruction in their homes through the Institute. It is surely not too much to hope that this number may this year be doubled. Announcements of all departments of the work are now ready and will be freely sent together with other literature helpful in arousing an interest in Bible study, to all those who address the Institute. The work of the Bible Student's Reading Guild and of the Study course for Young People's organizations commences October 1. Let every one inform himself concerning these courses before that time by addressing the American Institute of Sacred Literature, Hyde Park, Chicago.

Book Reviews.

The People's Bible History. Prepared in the light of recent investigations by some of the foremost thinkers in Europe and America: Illustrated copiously and beautifully and accompanied by portraits of the several authors. Edited by REV. GEORGE C. LORIMER, D.D., with an introduction by RT. HON. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P. Chicago: The Henry O. Shepard Co., 1895. 4to., pp. 1241.

This much heralded book is a sumptuous affair from the point of view of printer and binder. Its paper is thick and lustrous; the type large and clear; the press work admirable; the engravings and wood cuts well chosen and executed. As a parlor decoration or library ornament it bears comparison with any other achievement of the publisher's skill that has appeared in recent years.

This is not all. There is not a little good work put into the book. Of course fully half of the writers have no scholarly position entitling their words to authority. The names that attract a scholar are the following: Professor Sayce, Professor Curtiss, Dean Farrar, Professor Beet, Professor C. R. Gregory. Names standing in a somewhat different circle, but yet in a sense attracting attention from the student are: Mr. Gladstone, Dr. E. E. Hale, Professor Wilkinson, Dr. J. Monro Gibson, though none of these gentlemen is writing on a subject which has hitherto engaged his chief activity. The other writers may be excellent compilers, clear thinkers, good narrators, but one cannot feel that their work has added anything to the special usefulness of the volume.

The book contains the narratives of the Bible retold in modern style with instructive and edifying comments. The line followed in the progress of the story is chronological. The material is rearranged from the historical point of view. Such a plan is eminently desirable. Its achievement in these pages deserves considerable praise. No one of the "people" for whom it is prepared can read the matter furnished here without a larger and more accurate knowledge of the Bible and the history of which it is the record, without a broader view of the character and purpose of the Sacred Volume, and without a deeper sense of spiritual enlightenment and elevation. The editor, Dr. Lorimer, in his organization of this volume, has done the cause of popular religion and of popular biblical knowledge great service.

The matter contained in the book cannot be exhaustively surveyed here. We can only point out some characteristics of it:

(1) Much liberality is displayed in the attitude toward biblical criticism

and in the interpretation of difficult and disputed points. For example, the analysis of the Pentateuch is considered by the editor as a not unreasonable idea and it is definitely accepted by more than one of the writers. Again the moral difficulties of the Old Testament are fairly faced, and the view is presented that they are best explained on the basis of a low moral state in Israel. The standing still of the sun and moon is dismissed as no miracle but as contained in a poem never intended to be taken literally. Uzzah is "struck by lightning." Again the narratives of the birth and infancy of Jesus are said to be both truth and poetry. Other positions similarly broad and in harmony with the best scholarship are taken and might be mentioned did space permit.

(2) On the other hand there are some extraordinary inaccuracies of detail in a book professing to be "prepared in the light of recent investigations." Some of the more "popular" clerical writers in the volume have done a good deal of cramming in preparation for these tasks, and the material has not had time to undergo a process of digestion. The literature on which they have depended is secondhand, and the results are in some cases amusing. Dr. Geikie's "Hours with the Bible" has formed the staple on which several of our authors have drawn and without acquaintance with Dr. Geikie's authorities they have sometimes gone astray. We call attention to the results of a hasty survey of some parts of the Old Testament History as rewritten by Drs. Capen, Gunsaulus, Pentecost, MacArthur, Bristol and others, and suggest some revision in future editions. In ethnological matters we hear of the "Indo-Hindus"; "Hyksos is made equivalent to Hittite; Canaanite to Phœnician; Phœnician to Hittite; and all are "Turanian" or "Hamite." Dr. Pentecost's treatment of the "table of nations" is absurd. In chronology, Abraham goes down into Egypt under the Hyksos kings; Solomon is made contemporaneous with Homer and Cheops (!); or, again the Mesha stone was written before Homer; Zephaniah, Habakkuk and Obadiah are prophets of the exile; Malachi is the last word of revelation. In historical matters may be noted the following errors: Jeroboam I. favored Shishak's invasion; the latter's army was chiefly Ethiopian; Pul and Tiglath Pileser are two different persons; Sennacherib carried off two million (!) Samaritans into captivity; Tyre was captured by Nebuchadnezzar in 577; the last king of Assyria was Assur-ebil-ili. Amusing identifications are Cyaxares with Ahasuerus, and the Pseudo-Smerdis with Artaxerxes. Some misprints are Barsippa, for Borsippa; König, perhaps for König. Of some examples of ignorance, perhaps the most glaring, are the high encomium given to Sennacherib by Mr. Bristol, and the worthless description of Egyptian and Babylonian religion, swarming with errors, from Dr. Pentecost. The latter writer argues at great length for the immense antiquity of the Book of Job, while as to the Book of Daniel Professor Sayce regards it as proved to be Maccabæan and another writer argues strenuously for its origin in the time which it describes.

In a heterogeneous mass of material from so many writers one must expect diversity of opinion about disputed points. It should have been possible to avoid errors in matters of fact, however, and the work of these unlearned compilers should not have been allowed to stand beside that of Professors Sayce, Beet, Curtiss and the others without having undergone a careful revision under the hand of a competent scholar. G. S. G.

Demon Possession and Allied Themes, being an inductive study of Phenomena of our own time. By REV. JOHN L. NEVIUS, D.D., for forty years a missionary to the Chinese, with an Introduction by Rev. F. F. Ellinwood, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York and Chicago, 1894. Pp. x. + 482.

There are two classes of persons to whom the question of the nature of the phenomena of demoniacal possession as recorded in the New Testament presents no difficulty. There are those who hold it as a consequence of the authority of Christ and of the inspiration of the New Testament that every statement of the gospels and all the implications thereof are strictly true. They believe therefore that neither on the part of Christ nor of the New Testament writers can there be either accommodation to the current conceptions of their day (on many matters of course imperfect or incorrect, as is true in greater or less degree of the popular ideas, not to say the scientific "certainties" of every age thus far), or any degree of participation in those ideas except so far as they were true. Such persons of course find in the New Testament clear evidence that the demons were actual spiritual entities, that acquired a certain degree of control over the bodies of men, and even in some cases of animals, to the great damage and discomfort of the possessed. There are others, some of them materialists, some very far from accepting the materialistic philosophy, yet both alike so far influenced by the trend of modern discovery showing that many phenomena formerly attributed to the activity of demons, etc., are simply cases of brain disease, as to accept the conclusion that all phenomena apparently due to demoniacal influence, so far as they are not pure pretense or illusion, are the result wholly of an abnormal physical condition upon the part of the subject.

These two classes of persons find no difficulty with demoniacal possession. But there are those to whom the matter is not so simple. On the one hand the *a priori* argument concerning the nature of the New Testament testimony is not wholly convincing. It seems to them necessary to determine the precise nature of inspiration and the possible extent of accommodation from the ascertained facts rather to determine beforehand what these must be on any *a priori* grounds. On the other hand they remember that there is on record a great multitude of psychic phenomena, both from times long gone by and from our own day, some of which have certain elements closely resembling those of demonism, and many of which have as yet been but very imperfectly

explained. These persons feel themselves deterred by such facts from pronouncing too hasty a judgment on the nature of the phenomena recorded in the New Testament. They conceive it possible that the first view mentioned above may be correct, though they are not convinced by the deductive argument from somewhat insecure premises. They are ready to accept the conclusion that demoniacal possession involves the existence of no second spiritual entity but is purely a matter of diseased brain and nerve tissue, when that is proved. But the evidence thus far adduced seems to them to fall far short of proving this, and the argument for it strangely to ignore a large mass of evidence apparently pointing in another direction. They are compelled to regard the question as one that is still open to investigation, and they look with interest to see whether the careful study of phenomena recorded in history, or still better discovered in our own day, where the investigator may deal not merely with a past record but with the actual phenomena themselves, will throw any light upon the problem of the precise nature of the facts presented in the gospels.

To persons of this third class especially, this book of Dr. Nevius will be deeply interesting, particularly for the facts concerning demonism in China, presented in the first seven chapters and in the appendix. The careful student will often wish that he could have been present on the ground to inquire more carefully into all the facts than seems to have been done by the Chinese observers untrained in scientific observation. Yet this testimony has a certain value just because of the source from which it comes, and no reader of the New Testament can fail to be struck with the close parallel, undesigned it would seem, between these modern Chinese instances of possession and those narrated in the gospels. Of course the paralleling of the phenomena does not itself settle the question of their nature; in a sense it leaves the problem exactly where it was—we have more instances but no new elements of the problem. Yet this is not quite the whole truth. The duplication of the phenomena in modern times is itself a fact of significance, tending to confirm the accuracy of the New Testament record so far as it pertains to the phenomena themselves, viewed simply as such, and to limit the problem to the discovery of the nature and causes of the phenomena. Moreover, if the testimony of this volume is in all respects trustworthy, and no one can doubt its honesty at any rate, it tends to exclude certain explanations of the facts which the New Testament records did not so certainly enable us to exclude. Thus one of the striking parallels between the New Testament instances and the Chinese cases is that the demoniacs seem to have knowledge of matters of which, aside from the fact of their "possession," they were wholly ignorant. The demoniacs mentioned in the gospels are said in repeated instances to have cried out, Thou art the Son of God, and this at a time when, according to the gospel record, there had been no general recognition of Jesus as the Son of God or Messiah. The Chinese demoniacs are in a number of instances reported as knowing things in their demonized state of which they knew

nothing when in their normal state; in several instances they declare that Jesus is the Son of God, though showing fear of him or hostility to him; and there is even one instance in which a possessed woman talked continually of God and Christ and the Holy Spirit, yet "so far as we could reason," the narrator cautiously says, "the woman had never had any opportunity whatever of learning the doctrine." These are certainly interesting parallels; perhaps they are much more than this; they must, to say the least, be included in that mass of modern testimony on this and kindred topics which must be considered by the scholar who would solve the problem of the nature of that which has been in ancient times and is today in certain quarters known as demonism.

When the book passes beyond the presentation of testimony from China, and comes to deal with the explanation of the matter, it becomes of less interest, and we are inclined to think of less value. The discussion of the teachings of Scripture is far from satisfactory. Far too little allowance is made for the difficulty of conveying to men of the first century a correct idea of the real and exact nature of demoniacal possession, supposing only that it may have been something else than the common popular theory made it, and of the consequent possibility that a distinction is to be made between the literal sense of the language used and the actual significance of the facts. The argument for the accuracy of the evangelists based on the agreement of their several accounts strangely ignores the fact now almost undisputed, that these agreements are in large part due to the derivation of the several accounts from one source. In the discussion of the biblical doctrine of Satan, poetical language is treated as if it were perfectly sober prose (pp. 267, 268), and the evidence afforded by both Old Testament and New Testament that different conceptions existed of the function of Satan in the divine economy, is wholly disregarded. The discussion of modern theories will be informing to one who has not given special attention to the subject, but it will not obviate the necessity of another and more exhaustive treatment of the matter.

We heartily commend this book to the attentive and discriminating reading of students of the Bible who wish to have an intelligent opinion on the question of the nature of the demon-possession spoken of in the New Testament. No other book known to us is so really informing upon the subject as this. Especially would we urge those to read it who have been accustomed with easy skepticism to dismiss the subject on the ground that science has proved that there are no such things as demons. This book does not settle the difficult question. It does make some contribution to the subject. It is to be hoped that before very long we shall have a still better book based on a still wider and more penetrating study of the whole subject.

The bibliography added by Henry W. Rankin, Esq., is a most valuable addition to the book.

E. D. B.

Current Literature.

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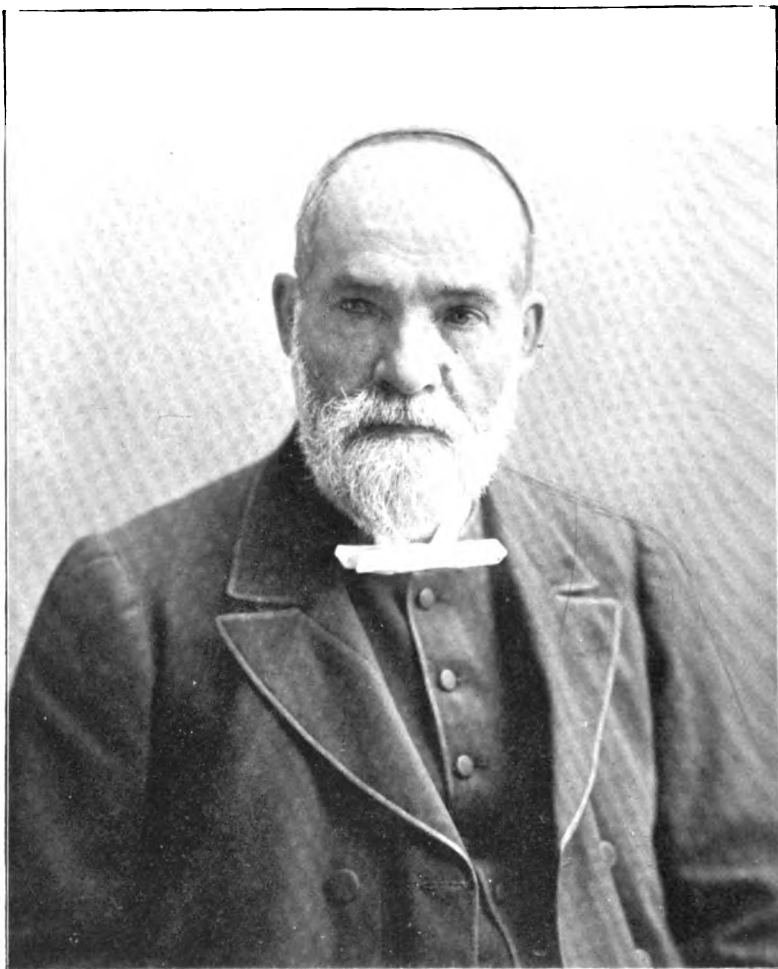
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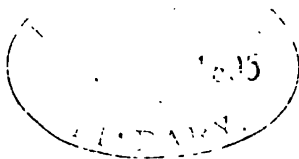
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PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D.



THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME VI.

OCTOBER, 1895

NUMBER 4

WE are quite certain that the readers of the WORLD will receive with pleasure the announcement that the December number of the journal will be entirely devoted to a single subject. In the Christmas season, the subject which most naturally suggests itself for special treatment is that of the Christ. When the thought of all the world moves in a particular direction, it is wise and profitable to take advantage of this fact and to lay emphasis upon that subject on which the minds of men are dwelling. Partly for this reason and in part also because it is possible in this way to accomplish something which could not be accomplished in the ordinary method, the December number of the WORLD will be wholly given up to the consideration of the subject, *Jesus the Christ*, under the following topics:

- Introductory: The Scope of the Treatment.
- Foreshadowings of The Christ.
- The Times of Christ.
- The Sources of Information for the Life of Christ.
- The Original Text of the Gospels.
- The Birth and Childhood of Jesus.
- The Home of Jesus—Nazareth.
- The Ministry of Christ.
- The Teachings of Christ in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke.

The Teachings of Christ in the Gospel of John.

The Methods of Christ's Teaching.

The Christ in Art.

The Christ in Song.

The Christ in History.

Helps for the Study of the Life of Christ.

Outlines of Important Articles Relating to the Christ.

The articles will be prepared by some of the world's greatest scholars and writers. Full announcement will be found elsewhere. We mention the matter in this place in order that our readers may be prepared for a variation from the usual contents of the journal and also in order that those who so desire may avail themselves of the opportunity offered to render assistance in distributing a document, the reading and study of which must surely be regarded as important and profitable.

A LARGE proportion of one's time is given to the reading of books which, after all, afford no real benefit. If one who has been accustomed to read several books a year will allow his mind to go back rapidly over the books read during six or eight years, does he not feel most keenly that the great majority of these books have proved to be of little or no value? This raises the question whether the ordinary reader of theological literature is sufficiently careful to exercise a proper caution in the matter of reading and purchasing books. One has just so much money in a year to spend for books. How, now, can he spend this to the greatest possible advantage? It is obviously unwise to depend upon the reviews of books published in the weekly religious press for opinions which may be accepted as authoritative. These reviews lack, for the most part, any evidence of discrimination. The reviewer in most cases is accustomed to write notices of books in any and every line of thought. Still further, the merit of a book is generally not the question considered but rather its conformity to a particular standard of opinion. One may not, of course, depend upon the statements of a publisher of a book;

**IMPORTANT
BOOKS**

for, naturally, it is a part of his function to rate the book as of inestimable value. The name of the author and the title of the book do not always furnish safe criteria, for many a good man writes a bad book, and many a good book has been written by men who have been unknown. An effort must be made, therefore, to secure information of a more exact and authoritative character. The pupils of a teacher often rely upon him to suggest the books which they shall purchase. But few men feel at liberty to call upon a former instructor for such services, realizing that his time is, in most cases, fully occupied. What then, shall the purchaser do? We answer: He must obtain those journals and reviews in which books are noticed at length by specialists in the various departments, who are willing to sign their names to statements published. This is the only safe guide. If our ministers and teachers would read carefully the *critical* notices of books which appear soon after their publication, time and money, in large measure, would be saved.

INABILITY TO READ THERE are many men in the various professions who do not read. We have in mind at this moment, certain pastors who, to our best knowledge, do not read even one or two volumes in a year. These men probably cannot read. They take no pleasure in reading. It is impossible for them so to concentrate their attention upon a book as to derive benefit from its perusal. They are college men, it is true, but as a matter of fact, they did not learn to read in college. Of how many college men this is true. They examine the daily paper, the religious weekly, possibly a magazine; but this is not reading in the strict sense of that term. It may, indeed, be said that few men are readers. Many live upon the food which they are able from time to time to absorb from their fellows. This, of course, is food at secondhand and the life which is nourished by it is stunted and dwarfed. It has no breadth of horizon, no freshness of spirit; it is characterized by dry rot, and after no long period, so far as men can see, it ceases to be. An effort was made in a certain denomination in the state

of Michigan to persuade the ministers of that denomination to take up a course of reading. The effort failed. The ministers were not interested in the matter. They could not be persuaded to read either individually or collectively. We suppose that the duties of the profession did not leave them time for reading. Alas! Alas!

ACCURACY of statement is not expected of the daily press. There are many who have come to believe that it is not expected of the religious press. There are, of course, good reasons for the failure to be exact when time is lacking to secure a full report and to verify the same. But what shall be said of the inaccuracy when there has been ample opportunity to know the facts, and at the same time a blindness or indifference to the importance of making a fair representation? In a recent number of THE BIBLICAL WORLD (August, p. 141), under the caption "Notes and Opinions," a member of the editorial staff presented briefly, without word or comment of his own, an opinion of Professor Briggs in reference to the interpretation of James 3:5. This opinion was cited as a score of other opinions are cited in the journal, as a matter of interest to its readers, who desire to be kept informed of what men are thinking and saying about the Bible. Not a word was written in behalf of the view or against it; and yet the publication of this "opinion" of Professor Briggs has served as a text for two of the religious weeklies of a neighboring state to argue in its columns, not, to be sure, in reference to the truth or falsity of the opinion, but rather in reference to the opinion of the managing editor of the WORLD. Neither of the worthy combatants read the published statement closely enough to see what it was. Both entered into the conflict of discussion upon the supposition that an editorial statement had been made for which the editor should be held responsible. In a score or more of cases which have come to our personal knowledge within a year, criticism and discussion have in this manner been built upon an utter misunderstanding of the statement and of its immediate context. Shall we be compelled to excuse the weekly religious press upon

the same ground urged for excusing the daily press? Or is it true that, as some have thought, religion and accuracy may not be combined?

THE interest in the lectures of Professor Bruce, delivered at The University of Chicago during the Summer Quarter, has been widely extended. No course of lectures in recent years has been more thoroughly discussed. The lectures, as will be seen from the subjects, "Evolution," "Agnosticism," "Foundations of Christian Belief," deal with the fundamentals of our Christian faith. The large and increasing attendance from first to last shows the deep interest felt in the discussion, alike by students and ministers. These lectures had not before been delivered in public. How soon their publication may be expected cannot be stated. Elsewhere in this number an outline statement of the ground covered by Professor Bruce is indicated. The books of Professor Bruce have made him known to all Americans who read theological books. That minister who has not read *The Training of the Twelve* betrays an indifference to modern thought which is unpardonable. The main characteristics of Professor Bruce as a thinker and writer are, (1) the extreme thoroughness which is everywhere apparent, items of the most minute character being employed to admirable purpose; (2) his fairness toward those with whom he differs in opinion,—his ability to set forth the side of the opponent being remarkable; (3) the reverential spirit which pervades every discussion, and (4) the simplicity of presentation, which makes even the most abstruse subject clear. It has been a great privilege to listen from day to day to the magnificent utterances from the mouth of a man of such experience. Without any question this course of lectures has marked a crisis in the thinking of many of those who have been in attendance. The influence of the lectures can never be estimated. It has been a rare privilege which has thus been enjoyed, and the coming of Professor Bruce to America must be regarded as a most significant event, occurring as it does just at this time in the religious history of the American churches.

THE study of most men is general, not special. This is as it should be. A large amount of nonsense has been uttered in reference to special study. Only a few comparatively have had an opportunity for such study, and these few often engage in special study without

*A BIRD'S-EYE
VIEW*

having done that amount of general study which would fit them to gain the highest results from their special study. A bird's-eye view of a subject, or of a division of a subject, is all that most of us may be able to obtain. How vastly important, therefore, that such a view should be in the main correct. But such an outline view is necessary also to the work of the specialist. It is pitiable to see a man undertake the work of the specialist in study or in the activities of life who has no conception of the relation of his particular work to that of others engaged in the same general field. General study has, therefore, a double function: (1) To do for the general student all that can be done for him; and (2) to serve as the preliminary work for the special student. The experience of the writer in connection with an outline course on the History of Prophecy during the summer, in which there was undertaken a general survey of the whole prophetic field in twelve weeks, with men who had never before studied prophecy, has satisfied him beyond any doubt (1) that such a survey at the beginning of work in a department is helpful in pointing out the great outlines of thought and history, and in stimulating an interest which might not be aroused if, at the beginning, the work were of a more minute character; (2) that such an introduction to the subject is the best preparation for more exact work in any division of that subject. There are disadvantages in such a piece of work, especially those which grow out of the feeling that the work being done is superficial. But when we come to consider the matter, what work may not be called superficial? Yet, if the work is conducted with the understanding that the student is obtaining only the barest outline, and that questions are all the time being raised which must be settled after more serious study, no harm need come to the student who does such work. Too many of us fail to obtain a conception of the relative proportion of things. It is as wrong

to magnify unduly a small thing as to minimize unduly a great thing. The searcher for truth finds it only when he is enabled to see events and ideas in their proper perspective. It is not too much to say that many of our so-called specialists fail utterly in this regard. A great specialist may be the narrowest man in the world. Is the instruction of our institutions of learning tending too much in this direction ?

THE FUTURE OF CHRISTIANITY.¹

By PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D.,
Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland.

Introductory.—The theme.—Christianity will have a future.—Discouraging symptoms.—Hopeful tokens.—The sovereign place assigned to man by recent science.—New interest in the Bible awakened by modern criticism.—New interest in the historic Christ.—What will the future of Christianity be?—The Bible popularized in accordance with modern critical principles.—Use to which the Bible will be put by the church.—The working out of the ideas of Jesus concerning God and man.—What will that mean?—The church and social questions.—Reconstruction of the church and its conditions.—The church of the future not to be a mere ethical society or benevolent association.—Proper function of creeds.—Conclusion.

It may well seem presumptuous to undertake to speak on the future of Christianity, or indeed to adopt the prophetic tone in reference to any subject whatsoever. And yet it seems to me that there is no place in the world where one may more pardonably assume the attitude of looking forward than in America, in Chicago, and in this University. America is a young country, as an independent nation about a century old. Its appropriate motto is not *fuimus*, "we have been," but *erimus*, "we shall be." It has a great future before it; its providential destination is to possess this vast land and turn its resources to good account. Chicago is a city whose small beginnings are remembered by men still living. It has already attained great dimensions, but shrewd judges predict that in fifty years or less it will be three times its present size, and in respect at once of population and commercial importance easily the first city of the American continent. The University of Chicago is but a child four years old, for its age it is a child of phenomenal proportions, but it is doubtless destined to indefinite expansion. Its buildings will be increased fourfold, its teachers will grow in number and in

¹ An address delivered at the Autumn Convocation at The University of Chicago, October 1, 1895.

renown ; its influence on all the higher interests of human life will wax in volume like the Mississippi, and become a mighty river fertilizing a whole continent. Amid such surroundings how can one help being seized with the prophetic mood ! It might have been very suitable on such an occasion as the present to discourse on the future of this institution. But to do that to any purpose would demand more knowledge and more intimate relations than I possess. Yet I must crave your indulgence if I speak for a moment of the privilege and honor I have enjoyed in having a part, however humble, in the work of this University at so early a period in its career, and of being associated with its pioneer instructors. May God's rich blessing rest on the president of the University and on all associated with him in the teaching and governing functions connected with The University of Chicago.

Having said this much about an institution which will, I doubt not, play an important part in the higher life of America years and centuries to come, I turn to a theme intimately connected with the aims of this University as conceived by its promoters, ever dear to my own heart, and on which I have a professional right to speak, *The Future of Christianity*.

I begin with the remark that *Christianity will have a future*. We are now near the close of the nineteenth century of the Christian era, but the faith we profess is by no means a worn-out cult, a spent force, a religious movement which has run its evolutionary course and is now about to take its place among the things that have been. Such a fate may overtake a religion as well as other things. Such a possibility is significantly recognized in the Sacred Books of Christianity, where it is written, "Now that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away ;" and it is important to note that the ominous word is spoken with reference to a religion venerable for its antiquity, and believed to have been divinely given, the Levitical cultus. Why should Christianity, it may be asked, not be subject to this law of decay ? And when one is in a pessimistic mood it is not difficult to point to phenomena which look like symptoms of senility, tokens of the approaching fall season of the Christian

era. There is the miserably divided church, which looks very like the hopeless wreck of organized Christianity. There is sacramentarianism rampant in many sections of the church; poetic, pathetic symbols turned into fetiches, objects of fond worship to a Christendom in its dotage. There is dogmatism by which a simple faith has been transformed into an elaborate creed, acceptance of which is virtually, if not formally, prescribed as a condition of salvation. Besides these internal symptoms there are external ones hardly less ominous: waning of respect for the church, as if it were an effete institution, among thoughtful good men; the question put here and there, are we Christians? and answered in the negative; the ethics of Jesus freely criticised and pronounced utopian and impracticable; his doctrine of a Divine Father dismissed as a fond dream to which there is nothing answering in the universe. "We are of age," wrote Heine, "and do not need a Father." "We are realists," says the modern pessimist, "looking facts in the face, and see no evidence in the world that throughout the ages one unceasing purpose of wisdom and goodness runs."

All this looks like impending dissolution. Yet there are not wanting facts and phenomena which encourage hope, wearing the aspect of a new dawn, suggesting the thought that if we have arrived at a crisis, it is not a crisis of destruction, but of reconstruction, a crisis in which old things pass away to make room for better things of the same kind. Of such hope-inspiring symptoms I name three: The sovereign place in the universe assigned to man by recent science, the new interest awakened in the Bible by recent criticism, and the intense thirst of the modern Christian mind for knowledge of the historic Christ. All these betoken a good time coming for the Christian religion.

1. Science has demonstrated that man is in his body, and probably also in his soul, the crown of the evolutionary process. By this achievement it promises a new lease to the Christian faith, in proclaiming a doctrine concerning man essentially the same as that of Jesus. Starting from the datum of science one would naturally argue: If man be the crown of the evolutionary process, he is the key to the meaning of the process and to the

nature of the great ultimate cause of all that happens. The world-process was meant to arrive at man, and the Great Being who cherished this aim must be manlike in his nature, a rational and moral personality guiding all things by a will of love. What is this but the Bible doctrine of man made in God's image, Christ's doctrine of divine fatherhood and human sonship? Jesus magnified the importance of man, science does the same. Jesus was full of the enthusiasm of humanity, science tends to be humanitarian. No truly scientific man will ever encourage brutal indifference to human well-being, or feel otherwise than kindly towards the memory of Him whose meat and drink it was to do all the good in His power to others.

2. The new interest awakened in the Bible by modern criticism is a good omen. With reference to the Sacred Scriptures a state of mind like this is conceivable. Why should we trouble ourselves any more about these old documents belonging to an eastern people of insignificant extent, with ways of thinking so entirely different from ours? They may be very good books in their way, and for their time, and for the people which produced them, but outside antiquated theories of divine origin, ideal value and unique function, there seems to be no good reason why we should not forget them, as the world has forgotten many other books which served a useful purpose in their day. Probably men in this precise state of mind are not wanting among us. But it is very far from being the prevailing state of mind. On the contrary since the Christian era began there never has been so much keen interest in and so much intellectual activity upon the sacred literatures of the Jewish and Christian faith as exists now. What an immense amount of pains have been taken to settle the text, to translate it correctly into modern languages, to ascertain all that can be known about the dates, authors, and occasions of the different books, to determine the true historic sense of every part of the collection and of the whole. And all this is a labor of love on the part of men entirely emancipated, for the most part, from superstitious reverences. They undertake this work because they like it and think it worth their while.

3. Foremost in importance among the good omens is the intense desire of many among us to know the mind of the historic Jesus, and to give to it the authoritative place in the faith and life of the Church. Not a few of our best men, I fear, have been tempted in these years to get weary of ecclesiastical Christianity. But one rarely meets with a man who is weary of Christ. The appeal of malcontents is rather from the Church to Christ, from modern presentations of the Christian religion to the religion embodied in the authentic sayings of the Great Master. There is as little weariness of Jesus Christ as there is of nature, of the world revealed to us by the eye and the ear. After many disenchantments, multiplying with the years of our life, these two objects, Jesus and nature, retain their charm unabated, growing rather as old age steals on. What is true of the individual Christian is not less true of Christendom at large. It is going on to two millenniums since Christ was born, but that event and the life it ushered in are not losing their attraction through the long lapse of time. Rather Christ is being born anew amongst us; through scientific study, devout thought and loving endeavor at imaginative realization, his life and ministry are being enacted over again, insomuch that it may be said with truth that the Hero of the gospel story is better known today, and more intelligently estimated than He ever has been since the Christian era began. Herein surely lies a guarantee that the Christian name and faith are not going to die, that far from dying they are about to enter on a new lease of vitality, power and prosperity, through which greater glory will accrue to God in the future than has been yielded by all the past centuries!

What will the future of Christianity be? Who can adequately tell? Even Hebrew prophets were able to depict the good time coming only in vague outline, and with colors drawn from present *desiderata* and the hopes these inspired. Yet without special prophetic *afflatus*, with only a sufficient amount of sympathy with the longings of our most Christlike men and due insight into present tendencies, it is not impossible to sketch some of the broader features of the new development which Christianity is likely to undergo in the years that lie before us.

One of the inevitable tasks of the Christianity of the future will be the *popularizing* of the Bible in accordance with modern critical principles. Whether we like it or not this is one of the things that lie before us. The inquiry into the history of the sacred books of our faith is a movement of too much depth, breadth, and strength to be stopped by prudential considerations. It must spread more and more till our ministers and even our Sunday school teachers have become more or less acquainted with its methods and results. It cannot remain a mere academic movement; it must influence the practical use of the Scriptures in pulpit, school and home. Religious people contemplate this prospect with mixed feelings; some with dread, many with sympathy and hope qualified by a certain solicitude engendered by reflection on the perils of a transition time. The right attitude for all who are competent to influence the situation is readiness for earnest participation in the work imposed by the situation, with unwavering faith in the ultimate issue. For that issue, I confidently believe, will be such as all lovers of the Holy Book will have cause to rejoice in. A well-known English preacher is reported to have expressed his fear that the critics were taking from him his mother's Bible. That is pretty certain. But what of that if they give to his daughter or granddaughter a better Bible than his pious mother ever knew; with nothing of real importance left out; the same righteous, gracious God, the same Jesus Christ, the same hope for sinful, sorrow-laden men and women, only all made more luminous, living, real, by the dating of books, the setting of prophecies in their proper historic situations, the arranging of the contents of the Sacred Volume in their due order, the illumination of its pages by side-lights through comparison with the documents of contemporary religions? I am reminded here of a little incident in my professional experience. One of our brightest students, an exact scholar, and an intensely earnest man, came into my retiring room at the close of his second session after he had passed through my apologetic and exegetical classes, and thus addressed me: "Dr. Bruce! Thanks for the two sessions. You have taken from me my religion and you have given me a better." I am

hopeful that the Christians of a future generation will speak in similar terms to those who are now engaged, or who shall hereafter be engaged, in the work of interpreting a critically edited Bible, saying to the Drivers and the Harpers of our universities and to the George Adam Smiths and the Washington Gladdens of our pulpits: "Thanks, ye scholars and ye preachers, thanks! Ye have taken from us a Bible which we revered to idolatry but in many parts did not understand, and have given to us a Bible which, with undiminished claims to reverence, awakens in our minds a real, rational interest to which hitherto we have been comparative strangers."

All hands to the work then! The sooner this service of familiarizing the people with the critically edited Bible is rendered the better. Till it is done there will be a dangerous interval of ignorance and indifference, during which the community will lose the invaluable moral tonic that comes from intimate acquaintance with a literature so elevated and unworldly in its spirit. When I was a minister there were certain books of the Bible which I never touched in my preaching. I knew too much of what was going on in critical circles to be able to treat them in the old style, and too little to have the courage to attempt exposition of them along new lines; and so I let them alone. This is what we have to fear on a large scale. The Bible let alone by the community, allowed to lie on the shelf, hardly a copy even to be found in the house; Psalms, Prophecies, Gospels, Epistles relegated to oblivion. What a loss to the forces making for righteousness in a community! Who would not gladly do his part to avert such a loss? Who, however much he may differ from his opinions about the Bible, does not sympathize with the general aim of Matthew Arnold in writing *Literature and Dogma*, viz., to rescue from neglect a book which, while containing some features not to the taste of men living in our modern era, was still the greatest book in the world in respect of the emphasis with which it asserts the value of righteousness, and the reality of a power not ourselves making for righteousness? All honor therefore to the men who in various ways are striving to rescue this Book from the neglect with which it is threatened through

the temporary unsettling influence of the critical movement. There are many coöperating in this good work, but I may be allowed in this place to single out for honorable mention the *American Institute of Sacred Literature*, of which many of your foremost men are directors, and whose principal and chief promotor is the President of this University. Its aims and methods are well known to you, its work needs no eulogium from me, but I may be permitted as a stranger to utter one word of hearty commendation, and earnestly to wish it God-speed.

Time will not allow me to enlarge on a topic closely connected with the foregoing, viz., the use which will be made by the church of the future of the reëdited and reinterpreted Bible. A few sentences must suffice. The Bible will be regarded more as sacred literature, less as dogma than it has been in the past; as a book for religious inspiration rather than as a book for theological instruction. It will be understood that it does not teach many things, the raw material of an elaborate creed, but rather a few things very thoroughly. It will also be understood that all things taught in Scripture are not of equal importance; that it is not necessary that every proposition that can be supported by proof-texts should become an article in a creed. A distinction will be taken between doctrines of faith and dogmas of theology. The consequence will be a shrinkage in the dimensions of creeds and confessions, and therewith the removal of one of the main hindrances to a wide full communion of saints. For there have been two great dividers of Christendom. One is an undue value put upon *sacraments*, the other is equally undue value put upon *dogmas*.

I pass now to speak of what I expect to be the most characteristic feature of the Christianity of the future, viz., the *working out of the ideas of Jesus concerning God and man*. This must come sooner or later. The teaching of Jesus has taken such a hold of the Christian mind that it will get no rest till it has given effect thereto both in theology and in life. Though we be near the close of the nineteenth Christian century this thing has yet to be done. And done it shall be. The rediscovery of Christ imperatively imposes the task. It is an arduous

task, not to be accomplished in a year, or even in a century, and before the consummation devoutly to be wished many changes, theological, ecclesiastical and social, may come which shall cause faint hearts to quake—such a shaking in earth and heaven as shall look like the final judgment. But it will be only a shaking of things that ought to be shaken in order that the things which cannot be shaken may remain. And during the shaking process the personal influence of Christ will be the sheet anchor of faith helping it to ride out the storm. My own religious history supplies a parable here. In my student days, when all accepted beliefs were in a state of solution, I was tided over a dark time of doubt and preserved from precipitate action by reverence for my father, whom I could not bear to grieve by avowal of unbelief, and abandonment of my purpose to study for the ministry. Even so will it be with the Christianity of the future in its time of trial. Traditional theologies may go, and ecclesiastical organizations be broken up, and old social conditions pass away, but Christ will remain, and the priceless worth of His words will keep the heart loyal amid temptation, and His ideas of God and man will be the fixed stars by which the mariner will steer his way through troubled seas to the desired haven.

What kind of a world will that haven bring us to? I know not any more than the Pilgrim Fathers who landed on your shores knew what a great nation was to grow out of such obscure beginnings. I shall not attempt to forecast even in the most sketchy outline the social outcome of the ideas of Jesus duly laid to heart. What I am concerned to affirm with emphasis is that in the years to come these ideas will be more seriously taken, and that when that happens the new earnestness about Christ's teaching will not remain fruitless. It shall accomplish that which God pleases, and prosper in the thing whereto he sent it. It will strengthen the passion for justice, and deepen the feeling of mercy, and make all men walk humbly with God, and lovingly with fellow-men. With this distant Pisgah-view of the promised land one can be content with Moses to die outside its borders, and ignorant of its geography. The religious and moral roots of the

unknown future are the only things we need to care about. Given these, the vital outgrowth will look after itself; these lacking no changes in church or state can possess permanent value. In these days we hear much of "Socialism," *economic* socialism. "Let private property only pass away, and all things become common, and all will be well." Would all be well if economic socialism were accompanied with moral individualism—a spirit caring only for self? Manifestly the true bane of society is not property, but self-seeking, and the true need now and at all times *moral* socialism, caring for others, remembering that a man at the meanest is a man and treating him accordingly. *That* due heed to Christ's teaching will bring, that and all that properly goes along with it. And the function of the church of the future will be to secure that due heed shall be given to Christ's beneficent and humane doctrine. It is well to keep this in view at a time when the question as to the relation of the church to social questions is so much canvassed. The proper answer to that question seems to me to lie in a nutshell. Of course it is inconceivable that a church filled with Christ's spirit can be indifferent to the social applications of Christianity. Apathy in view of oppression and wrong, or of deep, wide, unbridged cleavages of caste, color, character, religion, birth, social position, is the mark of a church that has a name to live while it is dead, that while cultivating a ghostly care for "souls" has no care for men and women, and that is as unlike as possible in spirit and method to Him who not only preached a gospel of pardon, but healed the bodies of the sick. But it does not follow that the church should constitute herself the great social executive. Her main function is to teach, to enunciate principles, to put in circulation great ideas. That done with freshness, freedom, impartiality, discrimination: in a word with prophetic power and wisdom, her influence will be felt recognized and respected, and her voice will be a real and potent factor in bringing in the better time.

But the church of the present is fatally weakened by division and the lack of a common understanding among all who bear the Christian name. Is this state of things to last forever? I devoutly hope and pray not, though I am much less sanguine

about the future of the church than about the future of Christianity. I see clearly some of the chief prerequisites of restored union and power, though whether these conditions will be realized must remain uncertain. Sacramental superstition must die out, and along with it the overweening love of dogma, and in the place of these two idols of the past must come a consuming devotion to the kingdom of God, a passion for righteousness, a resolute purpose that God's will shall be done. In saying this I do not wish to be regarded as one of those who conceive the ideal church of the future as an ethical society having for its aim "to insist on duty and character without insisting on any supernatural agencies or expectations,"¹ or as a benevolent association — "the union of all who love in the service of all who suffer."² Such organizations would be in themselves well intended if not effective institutions; and if by an evil chance Christian faith in the supernatural sense were to perish from the earth an ethical or a benevolent society on a considerable scale might to some extent act as a barrier against moral and social barbarism. But what if these modern churches, like the old ones they are to supersede, should become as salt which has lost its savor? Does the ethical spirit or the benevolent spirit not need support from a transcendental faith? Conscience is not so robust, nor the heart so filled with the passion of love, as to dispense with the aid of faith in a model Christ, our pattern at once in moral fidelity and in the enthusiasm of humanity, and in a Father-God who careth even for the lowest. A recent writer on social evolution has ably advocated a view of religion according to which it is a supra-rational element in human nature constraining men to be altruistic against the dictates of their reason, bidding them care for their own interest only. The theory is open to criticism. The two assumptions on which it rests, that religion is essentially supra-rational, and that reason is essentially selfish, are very questionable. But the general principle underlying Mr. Kidd's theory is sound, viz., that the humane benevolent impulses need the support of religion. A man is weak when he serves God

¹ Bosanquet: *Civilisation of Christendom*, p. 145.

² Stead: *If Christ Came to Chicago*, p. 445.

with only a part of his spiritual nature. It takes all that is within us—conscience, heart, reason, imagination, the faith-faculty—to make us heroes in the warfare for justice and mercy. It is well to have a definite religious creed, if it be sincere, well to have a philosophic theory of the universe in harmony with our creed. Furnished with these the man of ethical and benevolent bent engages in the fight clad in "the whole armor of God," without them he enters into battle defenseless and vulnerable. Our *pium desiderium*, therefore, for the future is not a church without a creed, or a theology, or a philosophy, or regarding these things as idle encumbrances. We desiderate a church possessing all these but knowing better what to do with them than the church of the past; using them as ideals not as compulsory ordinances, as goals not as starting points, as symbols and means of advanced fellowship not as conditions of admission to her communion, or even to the exercise of teaching functions.

Such is the vision of the future as I have been able to see it. It is fair and winsome. If it be also in harmony with the true and the good it will come to pass, and God's name will be hallowed, His kingdom will come, and His will shall be done on earth as it is in heaven.

DEBORAH'S SONG.¹

Deborah's Song (Judges 5) is undoubtedly antiphonal; and its antiphony is probably between a chorus of men, led by Barak, and a chorus of women, led by Deborah (compare verse 1).

REFRAIN

Men For that the leaders took the lead in Israel—
Women For that the people offered themselves willingly—
Tutti Bless ye the LORD.

PROEM

Men Hear, O ye kings—
Women Give ear, O ye princes—
Men I, even I, will sing unto the LORD—
Women I will sing praise to the LORD, the God of Israel.

• APOSTROPHE

Tutti Lord, when thou wentest forth out of Seir,
When thou marchedst out of the field of Edom,
The earth trembled, the heavens also dropped,
Yea, the clouds dropped water.
The mountains flowed down at the presence of the LORD,
Even yon Sinai at the presence of the LORD, the God of
Israel.

I THE DESOLATION.

Men In the days of Shamgar the son of Anath,
In the days of Jael,
The highways were unoccupied,
And the travelers walked through byways.
The rulers ceased in Israel,
They ceased—

¹ As arranged by Professor Richard G. Moulton. See *The Literary Study of the Bible*, pages 65 to 67.

Women Until that I, Deborah, arose,
 That I arose a mother in Israel.
 They chose new gods;
 Then was war in the gates:
 Was there a shield or spear seen
 Among forty thousand in Israel?

REFRAIN ENLARGED

Men My heart is towards the governors of Israel—
Women Ye that offered yourselves willingly among the people—
Tutti Bless ye the LORD.
Men Tell of it, ye that ride on white asses,
 Ye that sit on rich carpets,
 And ye that walk by the way:—
Women Far from the noise of archers, in the places of drawing
 water,
 There shall they rehearse the righteous acts of the LORD,
 Even the righteous acts of his rule in Israel.

II THE MUSTER

Tutti Then the people of the LORD went down to the gates—
 (*Men* Awake, awake, Deborah,
 Awake, awake, utter a song:—
Women Arise, Barak,
 And lead thy captivity captive, thou son of Abinoam.)
Tutti Then came down a remnant of the nobles,
 The people of the LORD came down for me among the
 mighty.
Women Out of Ephraim came down they whose root is in Amalek—
Men After thee, Benjamin, among thy peoples—
Women Out of Machir came down governors—
Men And out of Zebulon they that handle the marshal's staff—
Women And the princes of Issachar were with Deborah—
Men As was Issachar, so was Barak:
Tutti Into the valley they rushed down at his feet.
Men By the watercourses of Reuben
 There were great resolves of heart.

Women Why satest thou among the sheepfolds,
To hear the pipings of the flocks ?

Men At the watercourses of Reuben
There were great searchings of heart !

Women Gilead abode beyond Jordan —

Men And Dan, why did he remain in ships ?

Women Asher sat still at the haven of the sea,
And abode by his creeks :

Tutti Zebulon was a people that jeoparded their lives unto the
death,
And Naphtali, upon the high places of the field.

III THE BATTLE AND ROUT.

Strophe.

Men The kings came and fought ;
Then fought the kings of Canaan,
In Taanach by the waters of Megiddo :—
They took no gain of money !

Antistrophe.

Women They fought from heaven,
The stars in their courses fought against Sisera.
The river Kishon swept them away,—
That ancient river, the river Kishon !

Strophe.

Men O my soul, march on with strength !
Then did the horsehoofs stamp
By reason of the pransings,
The pransings of their strong ones.

Antistrophe

Women Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the LORD,
Curse ye bitterly the inhabitants thereof ;
Because they came not to the help of the LORD,
To the help of the LORD against the mighty !

IV THE RETRIBUTION

Strophe

Men Blessed above women shall Jael be,
 The wife of Heber the Kenite,
 Blessed shall she be above women in the tent!
 He asked water, and she gave him milk;
 She brought him butter in a lordly dish.
 She put her hand to the nail,
 And her right hand to the workman's hammer:
 And with the hammer she smote Sisera,
 She smote through his head,
 Yea, she pierced and struck through his temples.
 At her feet he bowed, he fell, he lay:
 At her feet he bowed, he fell:
 Where he bowed, there he fell down dead!

Antistrophe

Women Through the window she looked forth and cried,
 The mother of Sisera, through the lattice,
 "Why is his chariot so long in coming?
 Why tarry the wheels of his chariot?"
 Her wise ladies answered her,
 Yea, she returned answer to herself,
 "Have they not found,
 Have they not divided the spoil?
 A damsel, two damsels to every man;
 To Sisera a spoil of divers colours,
 A spoil of divers colours of embroidery,
 Of divers colours of embroidery on both sides,
 On the necks of the spoil?"

APOSTROPHE

Tutti So let all thine enemies perish, O LORD:
 But let them that love him be as the sun that goeth forth
 in his might.

SOME QUERIES ABOUT THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

By IRA M. PRICE,

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THE Book of Daniel is unique in Old Testament literature. This fact seems to allow a large license to any one who makes a special study of it. This liberty has been indulged in by students in all countries. Even today, with all charity and patience, we must examine about one new work a year on this problematical book. Of whichever period it was a product we know very little. Discoveries are few as yet, but assumptions are many. The amount of imaginative and rhetorical undergrowth in favor of either or any period of which it is said to have been a product is simply confusing and discouraging to the truth-seeker. Pleaders in favor of either the early or late date produce a luxurious crop of assertions and arguments *e silentio*, with a minimizing or non-mention of points in favor of the other party. I shall attempt in this summary simply to indicate some of the most striking queries which present themselves to the student of the Book of Daniel.

1. **The Language.**—The Book of Daniel is written in two languages, (a) Hebrew, chaps. 1:1–2:4a, and chaps. 8–12; (b) Aramaic, chaps. 2:4b–7.

(1) *The Hebrew* is a late form similar to that of Chronicles. It represents the decline-period of the language.

(2) *The Aramaic* is similar in many respects to that of Ezra 4:8–6:18; 7:12–26, and is popularly termed Biblical Aramaic, a branch of the Western Aramaic. It is stated by Wright (*Comp. Gram. of Sem. Langs.*, p. 16) that the Aramaic of Ezra goes back to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C. But a doubt is expressed about the age of the Danielic portions. Nöldeke (*Die Semitischen Sprachen*, p. 30) says *some* of these pieces may have been composed in the Persian

period, and Kautzsch (*Bibl.-Aram. Gram.*, p. 3) speaks of the editor of Daniel as active about 167 B.C. Queries, Was this Biblical Aramaic a spoken language in the West only? or was it also found at this early day in the lower as well as in the upper Mesopotamian valley? (Cf. Sayce, *Higher Criticism and Monuments*, p. 535).

(3) *Other Foreign Words:* (a) *Persian*.—The number of supposedly Persian words is somewhat remarkable, counting up in the Aramaic section at least fifteen. Queries, Do these words locate this work in Babylonia or Palestine? Do they indicate a late period of composition or so long intercourse between the two peoples that words became freely exchanged? (b) *Greek*.—Daniel contains at least three Greek words. One is found in Homer, one is first used in Aristotle and one in Plato. Driver (*Introd. Lit. of O. T.*, p. 471) says it can be confidently affirmed, that these words could not have been used in the Book of Daniel unless it had been written *after the dissemination of Greek influences in Asia through the conquests of Alexander the Great.* Queries, Was there any contact between the Greeks and the East prior to Alexander? (Cf. Ezek. 27:19; Joel 3:6; cf. Petrie, *Ten Years Digging in Egypt*, pp. 37-69. Sargon captured Greek prisoners in Cyprus in the eighth century B.C.) Is it scientific to affirm that Greek literature, as we have it, contains *all* the names or words of earlier origin and use? Greek peasants back in the mountains use words today which have not been seen in Greek literature since the time of Sophocles. (c) *Babylonian*.—Queries, Does the presence of more than a dozen Babylonian words in the Aramaic of Daniel indicate the pervasive character of that language in the Aramaic of the West? or, does it point to a Babylonian home for this production? This point cannot be omitted in discussions of the question.

2. **History.**—(1) *Date of Daniel's captivity.* Dan. 1:1 speaks of the captivity of the Jewish children in the third year of Jehoiakim. Jer. 25:1 says the fourth year of Jehoiakim was the first of Nebukadrezzar. Queries, If Nebukadrezzar made his first expedition westward before he was king, and in the same year, he having hastily returned, his army carried off these captives,

is the difficulty solved? Does not Jeremiah, in chapter 25, prophesy, not plunder, but destruction and captivity, as if the preliminary campaign had been made and Israel was about to rebel?

(2) *Belshazzar*: (a) *The son of Nebukadrezzar*.—So far as we know he was not kin to Nebukadrezzar. Query, Is it possible that he was so-called simply as successor of Nebukadrezzar, as the Assyrian inscriptions speak of Jehu as the son of Omri, when he was successor on the throne only? (b) *The king*.—But the inscriptions mention Nabonidus as the last king of Babylon previous to its fall before Cyrus. The cuneiform records state expressly that one Bel-shar-uzur is the son of the king Nabonidus. How then was he called king? Query, Had there been any case of such simultaneous ruling of two kings in one kingdom, or of one king and a regent called king? (Cf. the case of Jehoram and Jehoshaphat, 1 Kings 22:17 with 2 Kings 8:16, 17; also *Beweis des Glaubens*, March, 1889.)

(3) *Darius the Mede*.—It is stated that there is no room for such a personage immediately upon the fall of Babylon as successor of Nabonidus (Driver, *Introd.*, p. 468). He is not found in any contemporary history. Queries, Are we sufficiently acquainted with that period to make such an offhand assertion? (Cf. Moor, Gubaru et Darius le Mède, *Nouvelles preuves de la valeur hist. du livre Daniel*, *Revue des Questions Historique*, Juill., 1894). Do not the facts warrant belief that while Cyrus was actively on his campaigns he gave his subordinate officers absolute control? Is it unreasonable to suppose that Gubaru was another name possibly given by Cyrus himself to this Darius? (Cf. Mattaniah changed to Zedekiah, and many similar cases.) Furthermore, both Isaiah (13:17) and Jeremiah (51:11-28) speak of Persians and Medes in the overthrow of Babylon.

(4) *The Chaldeans*.—This is used in two senses in the Book of Daniel, (a) a class of men versed in learning, (b) the whole people of the empire, as (9:1) "Darius the Mede was made king over the realm of the Chaldeans." Query, Is there mention of the word in these different senses in other literature?

(5) *No contemporary of Cyrus*, says Professor Cornill (*Einleitung*, p. 257) would have given us the prophecies in chapters 9-

12 because the seventy years of captivity were not nearly completed. Query, Was not the seventy years concluded at the fall of Babylon? (*Cf.* Jeremiah's letter (29 : 10) to those who had already gone into captivity.)

(6) *No trace of Daniel's* influence whatever in any of the post-exilic writings (Cornill). Queries, What trace have we of the influence of Nahum? Do we know just what elements of influence Daniel wielded? Is there any resemblance whatever between Zechariah's and Daniel's visions?

(7) *Daniel is not mentioned* in Ecclesiasticus in the rôle of Israelitish worthies. Query, Is the name of Ezra or Esther or Mordecai to be found there?

3. **Style.**—The Book of Daniel exhibits a new style of composition. It lacks the directness, the terseness, the passion and pathos of the earlier prophets. It is full of elaborate, extended and detailed statement, frequent and long repetitions, sometimes even wearisome to the reader. Queries, Do these pompous, stately sentences, this newness in Old Testament literature and style definitely locate the book in *any* given period? Are any two of the prophetic books exactly alike?

4. **Unity.**—What is the origin of its two languages? is the question at the start. While most scholars will agree that the book is a unit, there are numerous theories as to the how? and the why? Queries, Was the book written originally in Hebrew and in Aramaic as it now appears? Or, was the entire book written in Hebrew, lost, and then parts of it restored from an Aramaic copy? The Septuagint text at any rate followed a copy where the Aramaic occupies the same place that it does now. Scholars, while formerly split up, are now coming together with the idea that the book is the product "of the same school if not of the same pen" (Bevan, *Com. on Daniel*, p. 27).

5. **Theology.**—The doctrines of the resurrection, of angels, of Messiah and of a judgment on the world are taught with greater distinctness, and in a more developed form than elsewhere in the Old Testament, and with features approximating to those met with in the earlier parts of the Book of Enoch (circa 100 B.C.). The spirit and tone is rather that of a time intermediate between

post-exilic and later post-biblical Jewish literature. It is also out of the analogy of prophecy that Daniel should describe so accurately the future conflicts of the Jews, during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. If the author had lived in the time of Antiochus, such prophecies could be much more easily and consistently explained (Driver). Queries, Was not Daniel's mission different from that of any other prophet, in that he told of *other* trials besides the exile through which the Jews must pass before they could be victors? Is the norm or standard called "the analogy of prophecy" legitimately determined without even considering *all* so-called prophecy? Is there any basis except subjectively for affirming that the theology of Daniel *could not have been produced* in the exile? Was not the prophet's work to interpret as well as occasionally to foretell history? What prophet does this on a more comprehensive scale than Daniel?

6. **Place of Daniel in the Canon.**—In the Hebrew Bible Daniel is not among the prophets, but in the Hagiographa. This is said to be evidence that the book was not in existence when the collection of prophets was made. Queries, How is it that Origen places Daniel between Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as he says, according to the Hebrews? What force is there in the fact that Melito, bishop of Sardis, in arranging the books of the Old Testament according to the custom in the East, locates Daniel, in his catalogue, between Ezekiel and the Minor Prophets? Is the statement of Josephus (*Antiq.* x., 11) concerning *Daniel the prophet* of any value? Does Matt. 24:15, where he is called a prophet, have any force in deciding the question?

7. **Daniel and The Revelation.**—Daniel gives us the first examples in the Old Testament of the apocalypse. In fact he sets the style. In numerous apocryphal books he is imitated and followed with severity. So striking are these points, that Daniel is probably the most influential factor in the form, style and matter of the New Testament book, The Revelation. Query, Should these facts weigh anything in determining the genuineness and authenticity of the Book of Daniel?

8. **Additional queries.**—Are the representations of Nebukadrez-

zar true to what we learn of him in his own inscriptions? Is there any probability that Nebukadrezzar suffered from lycanthropy? (*Cf.* Bennett, *Diseases of the Bible*, p. 86 f.) Do the names, manners and customs in the book point to any particular people and locality? (*Cf.* Jer. 29: 22, etc.) Is there any valuable information in the geographical and topographical hints of the book? Can the differences between the true forms Nebukadrezzar and Abed-nebo, and the Daniel forms of Nebukadnezzar and Abed-nego, be satisfactorily explained as scribal errors? Is it just to say that Daniel was made "President of the Chaldean Magi"? (Farrar, *Expos. Bible, Daniel*, p. 114.) Was he not called "master of the magicians?" Is it fair to say that the author knows of only two kings of Babylon and four kings of Persia because he mentions no more? (Farrar, p. 114.) Could we justly and rightly assert that Jeremiah and Ezekiel knew nothing of each other's existence because their recorded words make no mention each of the other at all? In judging the character of a canonical book how much are we authorized to draw for testimony upon recognized apocryphal books? Is there any well-established objection on the part of most scholars, except that of minute prediction, to the location of the date of Daniel early in the Persian period?

Queries about methods of interpretation cannot be touched in this article.

Some of the best literature in answering the above queries is the following:

Kautzsch, *Bibl.-Aram. Gramm.* Wright, *Compar. Gram. of Sem. Languages.* Nöldeke, *Die Semitischen Sprachen.* Driver, *Introd. to Lit. of O. T.*, pp. 458-83. Smith, *Bible Dict'y*, new ed., art. *Daniel*. Sayce, *Higher Criticism and Monuments*, chap. xi. Leathes, *Book by Book*, pp. 241-251. Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, pp. 254-60. König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, pp. 382-93. Lampe, *Presby. and Reformed Review*, July, 1895. Lenormant, *La Divination chez les Chaldeans.* Meinhold, *Beiträge zur Erklärung Daniel.* Meinhold, *Kurzgefasster Kommentar, Daniel.* Bevan, *Short Commentary on Daniel.* Behrmann, *Handkommentar, Daniel.*

EVANGELICAL HINDUISM.

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Law of periodicity in history of religions.—Successive stages of development.—Origin of "Evangelical" type.—Conditions of its appearance.—Examples of it in non-Christian religions : in Hinduism ; in Buddhism.

Enumeration of Hindu salvation theories : works ; knowledge ; delectation ; faith (trust).—Evangelical Hinduism found in Vishnuite sects.—Illustrated by 'Caitanyas and Rāmdhnyas.—'Caitanya soteriology.

Theological schools in Rāmdhnyas sect: Vadagalai or Arminian ; Tengalai or Calvinistic.—Tengalai taken as typical form of Hindu Evangelicism.

Salvation by God's free election and grace.—Works to be abandoned.—Gods of Hinduism, angels.—Five manifestations of God.—Plea for idolatry.—Idolatry rejected.—Trust in the Saviour.—This office ascribed to Krishna and Rāma, considered as theologically identical.—Veda the inspired Word of God.—Standard of interpretation.—Important place ascribed to Rāmāyana and Mahābhārata.—Sītā the embodiment of Divine Mercy.—Three classes of salvation-seekers.—Emptiness of self.—Misuse of images forbidden.—Caste distinctions obliterated.—Veneration of the teacher (guru).—Charity.—Divergences from Calvinistic type.—Approximation to Catholicism.—System rendered un-Christian by its historical elements alone.

THERE is a remarkable group of facts in the comparative history of religions to which I am not aware that any special attention has hitherto been called, although they would seem to be of peculiar significance. They appear to be connected with some yet unformulated law of periodicity, according to which there is a successive predominance of one phase after another of religious experience and thought.

Christianity has had its moralistic, rationalistic, ceremonial, ascetic and political stages, and the ancient religions show traces of not altogether dissimilar vicissitudes.

Similar combinations of circumstances appear to give rise to similar tides of religious activity. Christianity has from its beginning nurtured within its bosom all the possible aspects of religion, but one after another of them seemed to give the keynote to the Christian life, until at last, tired alike of theological disputations, ceremonial complexities, casuistic moral laws, painful self-disciplines, and politico-ecclesiastical intrigues, men

sought to throw aside all these things and to take refuge in a simple religion of loving trust in an all-sufficient personal human Saviour. Designating this phase of religion, in accordance with the prevalent usage of Protestant countries, and that recognized by most of our readers, as *Evangelical*, I have taken the liberty of extending the application of the word, for the sake of convenience, in the present article, to analogous developments observable among certain non-Christian peoples.

I do not know that any autochthonous system, or any one that has been strictly characteristic of one apparently homogeneous race, has presented this phase in any marked degree. The only important instances with which I am familiar outside the Christian group are to be found in Hinduism and Buddhism, and it is of these that I wish to speak.

The first belongs to a mixed Aryan and Mongoloid race, with probably a negrito infusion in its Kolarian (aboriginal) element. Buddhism, originating among Aryans or Aryanised Scyths, has become diffused among many widely different races, reaching its ultimate development in Japan, whose population appears to be an exceedingly mixed race, presenting a compound of Aryan, Mongolian and Malayan types.

We will glance in the present article at Evangelical Hinduism, reserving for a future occasion the consideration of the analogous development in the Buddhistic group of religions.

Hindu writers enumerate several ways of salvation: *karma-mārga*, the way of works; *jñāna-mārga*, the way of knowledge; and *bhakti-mārga*, the way of devotion (or "faith"); to say nothing of the *pushti-mārga*, or way of pleasure (or delight), which is attributed to the Rudra Sampradāyis or followers of Vallabhā'cārya.¹

The *way of works* was characteristic of the Brāhmanic period, when the buoyant childlike spirit of the Vedic age had given way to the cumbersome ritual developed under the Brāhman ascendancy.

When the free philosophic spirit, under Kshatriya influence, rose superior to the pettinesses of rule and rite, there grew up

¹ For further details regarding the various salvation-doctrines of the Hindus, see BIBLICAL WORLD, Vol. IV, pp. 99-112.

in the period of the Dar'sanas the theory that the supreme blessedness is reserved for him who attains to the knowledge of the uselessness of liking, dislike, or indifference (the Nyāya philosophy, the practical side of which was developed into Buddhism, by an elimination of all theistic implications), of the distinctness of the soul from matter, and its eternal existence and inactivity (the Sāṅkhya philosophy), or of the identity of man and the universe with Brahman—the Universal attributeless Being besides which nothing exists or can exist (the Vedānta philosophy). This is the *way of knowledge*.

But during the period of Buddhist ascendancy in India there was a general disintegration of traditional Brāhmanism, and when Buddhism was finally reabsorbed a profound transformation was found to have taken place. The outcome of the critical exploitation of the fundamental philosophical notions by the various Buddhistic schools seems to have produced a weariness of mind and will, and prepared the ground for the numerous reformers who arose at a period synchronous with that of the rise of scholasticism in Europe, and to whose labors almost all of the present forms of Hinduism are largely due.

Thus arose the various 'Saiva and 'Sākta sects, and the four great Sampradāyas (traditions) of which the modern Vaishnava sects are the continuations or the offshoots. The former were either ascetic or hedonistic, and some of the Vaishnava sects (like the Madhva'cāris and the 'Caran Dāsis), are Pelagian, while at least one of them, the Vallabhā'cāris, follows the way of pleasure.

The sects to which I have referred as representing what may be called the evangelical element in Hinduism belong to the Vaishnava group, all the divisions of which identify Vishnu, in some of his forms, with the Supreme Being, or consider the preservative or providential aspect of Deity worthy of chief attention or adoration. It is they who preach the *way of faith*.

There were a number of "Evangelical" Vaishnava sects founded between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries, but we need only consider two of them here, one the first, and the other one of the latest, of them : the 'Sri Sampradāyas or Rāmānujīyas, and the 'Caitanyas.

The 'Caitanyas, founded by 'Caitanya and two other Bengalese Brāhmans in the year 1515, worship *Kṛishna* as the Paramātmā or Supreme Spirit; *Brahmā*, *Vishnu* and 'Siva are names given to him in his capacities of Creator, Preserver and Transmuter. Although present in all existing things he was especially so in 'Caitanya, the founder of the sect, and became incarnate, in all the fulness of his Godhead, as the historic *Kṛishna*. Faith in him is the road to the highest spiritual rewards—paradise, liberation, perfection, or whatever may be the object of religious aspiration. This faith or devotion has the five stages of peace, servitude, friendship, tender affection and passionate attachment. "It is infinitely more efficacious than any or all observances, than abstraction, than knowledge of the Divine nature, than the subjection of the passions, than the practice of the Yoga, than purity, than virtue, or than anything that is deemed most meritorious" (Wilson, *Works*, i., 161). It obliterates all distinctions of caste and occupation, and leads to moksha (bliss or salvation) either in the form of preparatory residence in Paradise (*Svarga*) and the enjoyment there of Godlike powers; or of eternal beatitude in the heaven *Vaikuntha*, which is free from the influence of illusion and is the home of those who are perfectly liberated and enjoying the most intimate personal communion with God.

The Rāmānuja sect, in the north of India commonly called the 'Sri Vaishnava, was founded by the 'Sāṅkara monk (sannyāsi) Rāmānuja in the eleventh century A.D., as a modification or revival of the system taught by earlier Vaishnava sects. It is divided into the northern or Vadagalai school, which has an Arminian doctrine of freedom and grace, and the Tēngalai or southern school, which is Calvinistic, if we may be permitted to borrow these terms from Christian theology to designate an analogous doctrinal difference in a non-Christian church.

The Tēngalai 'Sri Vaishnava, being by far the strongest numerically, and perhaps the most imbued with the spirit of Evangelical Christianity, may be taken as the type. In this system religion is looked upon as the salvation of the elect soul by the unmerited election and grace of God. "That He

may save, it is enough that we let Him save." * God himself is the means of salvation; self-exertion and selfishness are to be abandoned, including the Brāhmanist's dependence upon ritualistic observances, the Vedāntist's way of knowledge (jñāna), the Yogi's ascetic discipline, and all reliance on ethical virtues. Those who pursue the knowledge-discipline gain knowledge of the soul, but forego the enjoyment of God and are destined to roam bodiless forever in perpetual unrest. The gods of Hinduism, called the Eternals (nityas), are angels, "who through eternity, both past and future, are above the stain of sin, and whose sole delight is in knowing the Lord and doing his will, although, when authorized by God, they can "even make, maintain and wind up worlds."

God has five manifestations: (1) the supreme glory of the highest heaven; (2) the creative, preservative and destructive power in the universe; (3) special incarnations, or descents for the salvation of his creatures; (4) the divine presence within the soul, and throughout the universe; and (5) the statues and symbols in temples and household shrines. Of the fifth, "the worshipable manifestation," it is said by the author quoted: "It is this manifestation wherein God, designing to hide his perfection and liberty, remains blessing those who slight him. God's all-penetrating incarnation (4) is like subterranean water, which can be discovered and enjoyed only by seers adept in deep meditation; his form in heaven (1) is like vapors, distantly enveloping our sphere; his form engaged in evolving, maintaining and involving the universal systems (2) is like a distant ocean; his man-like and similarly specific incarnations (3) are like a river's occasional freshets; his worship-incarnations (4) are like reservoirs, in which river-freshets are stored up for use at all times." The first words of this quotation express a sentiment identical with the extreme form of Catholic Eucharistic devotion. The rest of the passage has the appearance of a skillful plea for idolatry, though it may perhaps be

* *Srī Va'cana Bhūṣana*, by Pillai Lokāchāryar, one of the immediate disciples of Rāmānuja. This author is one of the most esteemed of the Tēngalai theologians and the subsequent quotations will be taken from his works unless otherwise stated.

treated as a pious extravagance, as the same writer says that "the Lord delights as much in dwelling in a single member of his devotee's body as in all his earthly temples put together," and other passages in 'Sri Vaishnava theological works seem to forbid a worship that does not go beyond the images themselves (see eight paragraph below).

God is ready to pardon all the sins of sinners and to save them. Faith consists in trusting the Saviour (God incarnate, *i. e.*, *Kṛishna-Rāma*), and is found in all the elect; but the Saviour is the only means of salvation, and he who regards any act of his own, even faith itself, as the means, thereby falls into the sin of self-dependence.

The Vedas are the inspired word of God. The meaning of their first part (Mantras and Brāhmanas) is determined by means of the law-books (Dharma-'sāstras, etc.), and that of their second part (the Upanishada) by the Purānas and Sacred Biographies, especially the latter. The Sacred Biographies are the Ramāyana and the Mahābhārata, which Pillai considers to be especially intended to set forth the glory of Sītā (wife of Rāma 'Candra) and of *Kṛishna* respectively. Sītā was the incarnation of Lakshmi, the personified Divine Mercy, and *Kṛishna* that of God himself. Lakshmi or Sītā is called the Mediatrix, and "her sole office is to plead with Gōd on behalf of sinners." She is spoken as of the Universal mother, the Queen of Saints, and very frequently as "Our Lady."

Kṛishna and Rāma ('Candra) are both called Saviour, being equally the manifestation of God as man for the salvation of mankind, and the same term is sometimes applied to Rāmānuja'cārya (the teacher Rāmanuja) himself in a modified sense.

The Saviour does not neglect the sinner on account of "the presence of fault and the absence of good, but makes these very circumstances a ground of acceptance." God's thought of our salvation is ever-existent, but it has fruition when our thought is changed. When we "abstain from rejecting God's interference in our affairs by meddling with them ourselves" there ensues in us "gratefulness towards the means of our salvation and beatific love towards its goal."

The lives of Sītā, Draupadī (wife of the Pāṇḍu princess in the Rāmāyana) Lakshmana, the Lord's (Rāma's) brother, and other saints mentioned in the Sacred Biographies, furnish examples and warnings for the guidance of the "refuge-seeker" or aspirant for salvation.

There are three classes among the seekers of salvation: "the unknowing blind, the wisdom-ripe seers, and the love-overpowered saints." These are weaned even from unprohibited earthly pleasures, the last class by the transcendent beauty of the God-head; the second by a wisdom matured by God's grace into love; and the first and lowest by the example of God's incarnations and of God-sent teachers. These three classes are distinguished by their predominating characteristics, although each of these characteristics is found in varying degrees in all or most of the elect. The devout soul is always led by its humility to reckon itself among the "unknowing blind," while considering others, whenever possible, as seers and saints.

The soul owns nothing itself, and when anything is given to God it must be with the acknowledgment that it is already his; otherwise the giver "convicts himself of the crime of robbing what is God's." "When we volunteer to give to God, even our Godward leaning does not insure fruition, for God's will may not correspond with our own; when God volunteers to take us, our very sins prove not bars." "Self-sought good, or self-sought means of achieving good, ought to be shunned as much as evil itself." "Compared to God's stooping to us from compassion at sight of our humiliation before him, God's becoming ours by virtue solely of his own sovereign election is more important."

One of the most grievous of sins is the "dwelling upon the materials" of religious statues and emblems, and a still worse crime is "scrutiny of the parentage of the people of God." A man of the lowest caste who is an ardent lover of God is superior to the member of the highest Brāhman gotra (gens).

This is illustrated by the following passage from one of the Tami books held sacred by the Southern Rāmānujyas:

"Ye numerous brotherhood in fourfold Ved-lore skilled,
 Descent untainted though from Brahmā ye might trace
 If ye find souls, howe'er low-born, who serve Me true,
 Fall down and worship them."

The faithful soul is to give to its teacher or instructor in the way of salvation and to the general society of the faithful a profound veneration, and be always ready to serve them, for God's sake and in his name.

Finally, the man of faith must see nothing but good in God and the godly, and nothing but evil in himself; even the faults of sinners he should regard as his own. But his thought should be not of himself but of God. "The thought of one's own sin produces fear; but that of God's mercies removes fear."

"If, therefore we meditate on God as the friend that planned to save us even in the days during which we turned our backs on him, we feel we have nothing to do but ever to rest content, banishing all fear."

The reader will easily recognize that this system, apart from the substitution of a different set of historical elements, departs from the Calvinistic type only in its saint and image worship, its recognition of a Mediatrix as well as a Redeemer, and its emphasis upon spiritual direction; and in these particulars its divergence is in the same direction as that of the Catholic Church, which it goes beyond only in the obligatoriness and authority of self-chosen spiritual teachers. But its agreement with Catholicism in the details mentioned does not imply any general resemblance to that system, for it is non-sacerdotal and had no official hierarchy; and its plan of salvation is evidently thoroughly evangelical, so that it needs little more than a substitution of the Bible for the Vedic literature and personal instructor, the name of Jesus Christ for those of Rāma and Krishna, and the Trinity for a triune cosmic operation in the Deity,¹ to entitle it to a place as an irreproachable member of the evangelical family of churches.

¹ See BIBLICAL WORLD, March, 1894, article *Hinduism's Points of contact with Christianity*, for a brief discussion of the Trinity doctrine as found among the Hindus; especially pp. 196-7, as the Vaishnava Trinitarianism. On the degree of Pantheistic tendency shown by the Rāmānujyas, see Vol. III., p. 352.

Aids to Bible Readers.¹

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF THE APOSTLE PAUL WITH THE CHURCH IN CORINTH.

By ERNEST D. BURTON.
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The City of Corinth, its antiquity, its characteristics in New Testament times.—The work of the apostle Paul in Corinth as told in his letters; as told in Acts.—Letters and Messages between Paul and the Corinthians in his absence from Corinth.—Occasion of 1 Cor.—Analysis of 1 Cor.—Apparent references to 1 Cor. in 2 Cor.—Change of situation in the interval between 1 Cor. and 2 Cor.—Summary of events in this interval.—Occasion of 2 Cor.—Analysis of 2 Cor.

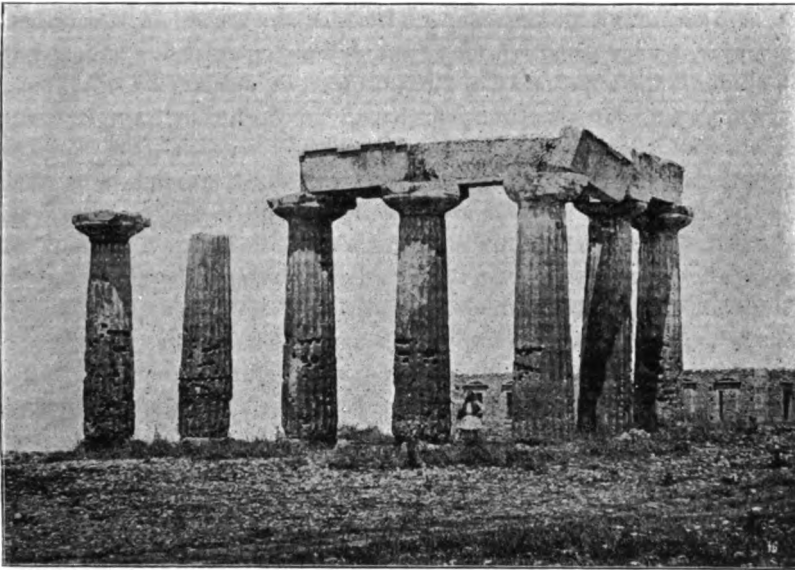
FIRST CORINTHIANS.

HISTORY has left us no record of the first settlement made on the site of what in classical and New Testament times was known as Corinth. It was in the nature of the case that a city should very early be founded on the isthmus that joined the Peloponnesus to Attica and separated the Corinthian and Saronic Gulfs, and on that isthmus there could hardly be a more attractive spot for a city than at the foot of that remarkable rock citadel, afterward known as the Acrocorinthus, rising 2000 feet above the surrounding region.

But the Corinth with which the reader of the New Testament has to do is not the Corinth of pre-historic or even of classical antiquity, but one which was in New Testament times a comparatively modern city. The Corinth of the Achæan League, of Thucydides and Xenophon, was destroyed by the Romans under Mummius in 146 B. C. A century, later, in 46 B. C., Julius Cæsar rebuilt and repopulated it. It grew rapidly, and another century later—it was almost exactly one hundred years later when Paul first visited it—it had perhaps 100,000 inhabitants. Its population was heterogeneous, including, almost as a

¹ Under this head will be published from month to month articles intended to furnish help in the intelligent *reading* of the books of the Bible *as books*. They will aim to present not so much fresh results of critical investigation as well established and generally recognized conclusions.

matter of course in that day, many Jews. It was a wealthy, and a highly cultivated city, though possibly both in wealth and cultivation inferior to the Corinth which Mummius destroyed. It was so infamous for its vice that a word meaning to practice licentiousness was coined from the name of the city. Today the only significant remnants of its former splendor are seven Doric columns, which once formed part of a temple. The modern city of Corinth is four miles distant on the Bay of Corinth.



THE RUINS OF A TEMPLE ON THE SITE OF ANCIENT CORINTH.

The epistles of Paul, even apart from the book of Acts, yield us considerable information concerning Paul's first visit to Corinth. A comparison of Phil. 4:15; 1 Thess. 1:1; 2:2; 3:1, 6; and 2 Cor. 11:9 enables us both to reproduce the itinerary of Paul's first journey through Macedonia and Achaia, and to recover a number of other important facts concerning it. We see that Paul visited Philippi, Thessalonica, Athens, and Corinth; that being left alone at Athens while Timothy (probably Silas also) returned to Macedonia he was afterwards rejoined at Corinth by these helpers of his, Timothy coming from Thessalonica, and he or some one else—it seems probable that it was Silas (1 Thess.

1:1)—bringing him a gift of money from Philippi. With what anxiety Paul awaited the return of Timothy and with what emotions he received the news from his converts in Thessalonica, we have already seen in his letter to them written at this time (1 Thess.). But must there not have been also a letter to the Philippians at this time thanking them for their gift? If so it must be counted among the many treasures now lost to us. But the two letters to Corinth which we have furnish us no little information concerning Paul's work in that city. That he was the founder of the church, he says plainly in 1 Cor. 3:6, 10 and 9:1, 2. That with fear and trembling he preached in Corinth the gospel of a crucified Saviour with unadorned simplicity and without attempt to commend it by giving it the appearance of a philosophy, he declares 1 Cor. 2:1-5; *cf.* also 3:1, 2. He baptized but few of his Corinthian converts, not regarding this as a part of his special work (1 Cor. 1:14-17). He was supported while in Corinth, not by his converts there, but in part at least by the gifts sent to him from Philippi (Phil. 4:15; 2 Cor. 11:9).

All this we learn from the existing letters of Paul. The book of Acts tells in part the same facts, and adds some others of interest. Thus we learn that Paul labored with his own hands to support himself, that he began his work in the Jewish synagogue, but was constrained at length to turn from the Jews to the Gentiles, that he remained in the city eighteen months, and that before he left he was at the instance of the Jews brought before the proconsul Gallio, who, however, dismissed the case as having nothing in it demanding his attention. See Acts 18:1-17.

There are several indications that a considerable interval elapsed between Paul's first ministry in Corinth and the writing of the letter which we call First Corinthians. Yet this interval was by no means one of neglect of the church by the apostle or of the suspense of communication between him and them. The letter which we commonly call Second Corinthians refers to the visit which the apostle is then about to make to Corinth as the third (2 Cor. 12:14; 13:1). This implies that one visit had already been made since the founding of the church. Most scholars have judged it impossible to find place for this second visit between our two letters, and hence have held that it must have taken place before First Corinthians was written. First Corinthians refers also to a previous letter of the apostle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. 5:9). This letter is now lost. It probably followed the visit referred to above, since otherwise the visit would have furnished ample opportunity to correct the misunderstanding of its meaning. Still, later members

of the household of Chloe brought the apostle news of the state of affairs at Corinth (1 Cor. 1:11). Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus also visited him (1 Cor. 16:17), and they or others brought a letter from the members of the church (7:1) to the apostle. The letter which we have from the apostle was written from Ephesus (1 Cor. 16:19; 16:8,) but the apostle was expecting before long to leave there. The residence in Ephesus thus referred to must certainly be that recorded in Acts chap. 19, and as that lasted between two and three years (Acts 19:8, 10; 20:31), and was preceded by journeys from Corinth to Jerusalem and Antioch, and thence across Asia Minor (Acts 18:18-19:1), the letter must have been written about three years after Paul left Corinth.

During all this time the apostle had undoubtedly borne the Corinthian Christians upon his heart, and as we have seen had several times had communication with them, in person, or by messenger, or by letter from them or to them. Just now there were several matters which urgently called for attention from him. The members of the household of Chloe had brought him news of the existence in the church of four parties. These parties called themselves by the names of Paul, of Apollos, of Peter, and of Christ, though there is no indication that any one of the three Christian preachers whose names were thus converted into party-cries approved of this use of their names. The Apollos party seems to have been made up of those who were captivated with the preaching of Apollos. Paul had studiously abstained from catering to the Corinthian love of philosophy, and had set forth the simple, to many repulsive, doctrine of a crucified Christ. Apollos coming after Paul (1 Cor. 3:6) had preached, it would seem, substantially the same doctrine, but had adopted a different method of presentation. Perhaps quite as much because of the cast of his own mind, as from a desire to win the attention or admiration of the Corinthians, he had translated the gospel into the terms of philosophy. Such preaching always attracts a certain class of minds—those who have, or fancy they have, a natural taste for philosophical methods of statement. It attracted some of the Corinthians, and this gave rise to the Apollos-party. The Paul-party was probably composed simply of those who stood by the apostle, the founder of the church and its first pastor. Of the Peter-party we have no definite information. The Christ-party we shall have occasion to speak of in connection with Second Corinthians. The references to it in First Corinthians would scarcely enable us to determine its character at all.

But other evils existed also in the church of the Corinthians. The vices of Corinth as well as its philosophy affected the life of the Christian community. One conspicuous case of immorality, surpassing in grossness even that which prevailed among the heathen, called for prompt attention and stern rebuke (1 Cor. chap. 5). The spirit of litigiousness prevailed too among the brethren, leading them to carry their quarrels into the courts of law, where they must of course be tried before heathen tribunals, to the disgrace of the new religion (6: 1-11). Nor was the sinfulness of unchastity quite clearly recognized among the new converts. The apostle's own teaching that all things are lawful had apparently been turned into an excuse for sin, and he is compelled to interpret it, and to insist upon those other complementary truths which save it from becoming a principle of immorality (6: 12-20).

In the letter which the Corinthians had written to the apostle they had asked him questions concerning marriage (chap. 7). Probably also the matters discussed in chaps. 8-14, things sacrificed to idols, the customs of public worship, spiritual gifts, were suggested to him by their letter. From some source unknown to us the apostle had still further learned that some among the Corinthians were affected with the Sadducean tendency and denied the resurrection of the dead.

It is evident that these various matters furnish ample occasion for this letter of the apostle; and in the light of the situation thus depicted, it becomes intensely interesting even at this day so long after it was written. In the following analysis the ten topics which the letter discussed are grouped according to what seems to be the source of the apostle's information, but are for convenience numbered consecutively in one series:

ANALYSIS.

- | | |
|---|--------------|
| I. INTRODUCTION, INCLUDING SALUTATION AND THANKSGIVING. | 1: 1-9. |
| II. CONCERNING MATTERS REPORTED TO THE APOSTLE BY THE HOUSEHOLD OF CHLOE. | 1: 10-6: 20. |
| 1. Concerning the factions in the church. | 1: 10-4: 21. |
| a. The situation stated. | 1: 10-17. |
| b. Justification of the simplicity of his preaching among them. | 1: 18-3: 4. |
| c. Explanation of the relation between himself and Apollos, and of the relation of both to the gospel work. | 3: 5-17. |

- d.* How in view of these facts the Corinthians ought to act. 3:18—4:13.
- e.* Concluding appeal and warning. 4:14-21
- 2. The case of incest. chap. 5.
- 3. Lawsuits between members of the church. 6:1-11.
- 4. Fornication. 6:12-20.
- III. CONCERNING MATTERS SPOKEN OF IN THEIR LETTER. chaps. 7-14.
- 5. Concerning marriage. chap. 7.
- 6. Concerning the eating of things sacrificed to idols. 8:1-11:1.
- a.* General principles: such eating is lawful, but is not in accordance with love. chap. 8.
- b.* Appeal to his own example in waiving his rights. chap. 9.
- c.* Warning, derived from the Old Testament, against pride and self-conceit. 10:1-13.
- d.* Argument from the communion table. 10:14-22.
- e.* Conclusion: recognize Christian liberty, but let Christian love be supreme. 10:23-11:1.
- 7. Concerning women praying and prophesying unveiled. 11:2-16.
- 8. Concerning disorder in connection with the Lord's Supper. 11:17-34.
- 9. Concerning spiritual gifts. chaps. 12-14.
- a.* The diversity of gifts. chap. 12.
- b.* Love greater than all gifts. chap. 13.
- c.* Prophecy better than the gift of tongues. 14:1-25.
- d.* Concerning the exercise of gifts in their assemblies. 14:26-36.
- e.* Conclusion. 14:37-40.
- IV. [SOURCE OF THE APOSTLE'S INFORMATION NOT INDICATED.]
- 10. Concerning the resurrection. chap. 15.
- V. CONCLUSION: SUNDRY MINOR MATTERS, AND FINAL INJUNCTIONS. chap. 16.

SECOND CORINTHIANS.

Our First Corinthians is not a letter which could be the last word of the correspondence between the apostle and the Corinthian church. It called for an answer of some sort. That answer would naturally be awaited by the apostle with no little anxiety. Our Second Corinthians tells of the great anxiety which he had had after writing a certain letter (2 Cor. 7:8), and especially of the suspense with which he had awaited news from Corinth (2 Cor. 2:12, 13; 7:5), and the great joy with which he had at length received good news (7:6 ff.). It is natural to

infer at once that the letter which for a time he regretted having written was our First Corinthians, and that our Second Corinthians is the next in the series, expressing his joy on the receipt of welcome tidings from Corinth. This seems all the more probable if we recall that First Corinthians was written at Ephesus when the apostle was expecting before long to leave there (1 Cor. 16:8) for Macedonia and Corinth (16:5), and then observe that when he writes Second Corinthians he has arrived in Macedonia (2 Cor. 7:5), having come thither *via* Troas, evidently from some point further south, and is on his way to Corinth (2 Cor. 14:12; 13:1). The journey which in Second Corinthians is in progress is precisely the one which in First Corinthians was contemplated.

But there are other facts about Second Corinthians which suggest that there has been more intervening history than this simple explanation of the relation between the letters would imply. Thus the first letter speaks of Timothy as about to come to Corinth, though his arrival there is not regarded as quite certain (1 Cor. 4:17; 16:10). When the second letter is written, Timothy is with the apostle again (2 Cor. 1:1), but there is no reference to any news brought by him: either he has not been in Corinth or the situation has so changed as not to call for any reference to him. Titus, who is not mentioned at all in the first letter, has just made a visit to Corinth, and the apostle has been anxiously waiting his return (2 Cor. 2:12, 13; 7:5). The references to the letter of the apostle to which Titus was apparently to bring an answer do not, on second consideration, seem perfectly to fit our First Corinthians. The letter to which Second Corinthians refers seems to have been severe against the church as such (2 Cor. 2:1-4; 7:8-11). But this can hardly be said of the first letter. Especially does it seem difficult to suppose that what the apostle says in this second letter about the individual offender applied to the offender spoken of in the first letter (1 Cor. chap. 5). Second Corinthians speaks of one who had evidently committed some offense against the apostle personally, and against the church only in the fact of the offense against the apostle (2 Cor. 2:5-11; 7:11, 12). But the offense of the wrong-doer spoken of in the first letter, could scarcely by any straining of language be thus described. His sin was against an individual, against the church, and against God, but only in a very indirect sense against the apostle.

It must be observed also that the situation in respect to the parties has greatly changed in the interval between the two letters that we now

have. In the first letter we read of four parties, though the apostle has little to say directly concerning any but the Apollos-party and the one which bore his own name. But in the second letter there are apparently but two parties, and it seems to be the Christ-party that is most bitterly opposing the apostle (2 Cor. 10:7; 11:23).

These considerations have led to the supposition that there was communication both ways between the apostle and the church in the interval between our First Corinthians and our Second Corinthians. The history may be reconstructed somewhat as follows: Our First Corinthians was taken to Corinth, but failed to accomplish its whole purpose. In some way, perhaps because the incestuous man was offended at the apostle's rebuke of him and succeeded in gathering a party around him which was able to control the action of the church for a time, perhaps because the leaders of the Christ-party took offense at even the mild and indirect reproof of them, and possibly gathered to themselves some of the members of the Apollos and Peter parties,—for some reason which we cannot state with positiveness,—the church virtually rebelled against the apostle. In connection with the discussion of the matter one man made himself conspicuous by his opposition to the apostle, apparently openly insulting and defying him. News of this was carried back to the apostle, perhaps by Timothy, who if he came to Corinth was unable to carry the case for Paul. When this sad news reached the apostle, he wrote another letter, more severe than the former, and with it sent Titus that he might, if possible, by personal entreaty and argument persuade the church to adopt the course which the apostle enjoined. This letter—on this view the third which we know of the apostle's writing to the Corinthians—is the one referred to in our Second Corinthians (which might therefore be designated as Fourth Corinthians). The mission of Titus required a longer time than Paul had anticipated. It had been arranged that Titus should come to Troas, evidently by way of Macedonia. The apostle went thither from Ephesus, but being unable to compose himself to work there because of his distress of mind about the Corinthians he went on to Macedonia, hoping there to find Titus. Again he was disappointed, and his anxiety increased. At length, however, Titus arrived, bringing the long-desired report of affairs at Corinth. On the main question, and with the majority of the church, the efforts of Titus reënforcing the letters had been successful. The church had repudiated the action of the leader of the opposition to the apostle, and had inflicted a punishment so severe that the apostle was constrained, now that the

essential point was gained in securing the renewed allegiance of the church, to turn and beg them to have mercy on the offender (2:5-11; 7:9-12). But the news of Titus was by no means wholly of a reassuring character. On the one side the church, though returning to their loyalty to the apostle, were still offended at his failure to keep his promises in the matter of visiting them (1:15-23). On the other hand, it is evident that there still remained at Corinth a party who were bitterly opposed to Paul, ridiculed him, and denied altogether his claim to be an apostle (chaps. 10 and 11). These opponents of the apostle evidently claimed to be Christ's in a sense in which he was not such (10:7; 11:23). It seems clear also that they claimed to be themselves apostles (11:5, 13; 12:11). This is, then, in all probability the Christ-party referred to briefly in First Corinthians (1:12, *cf.* also 3:22). And, indeed, in the light of these references to this party in the later letter, we are able to see that the defense of himself which the apostle introduced incidentally into his former letter as an illustration of the principle of waiving rights for the sake of love (1 Cor. chap. 9), had a real and vital interest of its own, and was in fact a defense of himself against the Christ-party. In respect, then, to the opposition from this party, matters have not at all mended since First Corinthians was written. It must be noticed, indeed, that this party was, as respects its leaders at least, composed not of members of the Corinthian church, but of those who claimed a special relationship to Jesus, hence, in all probability, Jewish Christians from Palestine, who had seen Christ in the flesh. Yet they must have gained some following in Corinth, or the apostle would have had no need to make so extended a reply to them.

Such is the situation which gives rise to the fourth of the letters which we have reason to believe that Paul wrote to the Corinthians, our Second Corinthians, so-called. The news that Titus brings gives the apostle occasion for the expression of his joy that the church has at length renewed its allegiance to him, and calls also for an explanation of his seeming vacillation in reference to the visit to them, and for a vigorous defense of himself against his opponents, the members of the Christ-faction. He employs the opportunity also to urge the completion of the offering for the saints at Jerusalem.

The letter stands in one respect in sharp contrast with First Corinthians. That is simple and clear in its structure. This is broken, involved, full of digressions. Some scholars have held, indeed, that it is not one letter, but a combination of several letters of the apostle to

this Corinthian church. Nor is it indeed impossible that there are passages of the letter, as we now have it, which are in reality fragments of some of the lost letters of the apostle to the Corinthians. Perhaps the most probable instance of this is in 6:14—7:1, a passage which seems to have little connection with what precedes or what follows, and the removal of which certainly leaves the course of thought more clear and straightforward. The remainder of the letter, however, despite its somewhat tortuous course of thought, seems quite explicable as a single letter written under considerable stress of feeling and of conflicting emotions. Its plan seems to be as follows :

ANALYSIS.

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|--|------------|
| I. INTRODUCTION, INCLUDING SALUTATION AND THANKSGIVING, | 1:1—11. |
| II. THE APOSTLE'S FEELINGS AND CONDUCT TOWARD THE CORINTHIANS, particularly in the matter of his proposed visit to them, and of his former letter. | 1:12—7:16. |
| 1. Declares that he had acted holily and sincerely. | 1:12—14. |
| 2. Explains his change of purpose respecting his promised visit to them, and the motives of his former letter, and bids them now forgive the one whose wrongdoing had occasioned the letter. | 1:15—2:11. |
| 3. His anxious suspense while waiting at Troas for Titus to bring news from them. | 2:12—17. |
| 4. [Digression—a partial anticipation of his self-defense: See IV. below.] The manner and motives of the apostolic ministry. | 3:1—6:10 |
| <i>a.</i> Not with self-commendation or with letters of commendation from others, but in reliance on God, having been made by him ministers of a new covenant. | 3:1—11. |
| <i>b.</i> Using the boldness of speech appropriate to the new hope. | 3:12—18. |
| <i>c.</i> Without craftiness, preaching Christ only as Lord. | 4:1—6. |
| <i>d.</i> Weak and afflicted, yet living for others unto the glory of God. | 4:7—15. |
| <i>e.</i> Fainting not at persecutions, but looking unto the eternal things which are to come. | 4:16—5:10. |
| <i>f.</i> As ambassadors for Christ, responsible to God, living and suffering for men. | 5:11—6:10. |
| 5. His love for the Corinthians and appeal for their love. | 6:11—7:4. |
| 6. His anxious suspense while he waited in Macedonia for Titus, (<i>cf.</i> 3 above) and his great joy when Titus brought good news. | 7:5—16 |

- III. CONCERNING THE MINISTERING TO THE SAINTS (*cf.* 1 Cor. 16: 1-3; Rom. 15: 25, 26). chaps. 8, 9.
- IV. DEFENSE OF HIMSELF AGAINST HIS OPPONENTS. 10: 1-12: 13.
1. Repels the charges of his opponents, intimating charges against them, and affirms the authority given him by Christ. chap. 10.
 2. With repeated apologies for boasting, and mingled denunciation of his opponents, he boasts of his Hebrew blood, his relation to Christ, his sufferings and labors, and his visions. 11: 1-12: 13.
- V. TRANSITION TO THE CONCLUSION: his intention to come to them; the motives and manner of his coming. 12: 14-13: 10.
- VI. CONCLUSION: PARTING INJUNCTIONS, SALUTATIONS AND BENEDICTION. 13: 11-14.

PROFESSOR BRUCE'S LECTURES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

By EDMUND BUCKLEY, Ph.D.,
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PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., of the Free Church College, Glasgow, has just finished a course of lectures at the University of Chicago upon Apologetics. The appreciation of the work done by him was intimated in an ovation which was tendered him at the close of the final lecture. On that occasion Dr. G. W. Northrup, the reverend and revered Head Professor of Dogmatic Theology in the University rose to recognize the indebtedness of the University to its distinguished lecturer, saying that his words had proved illuminating, emancipating, invigorating, and wonderfully suggestive in these days of transition, and that there was no living man with whom he stood in closer sympathy.

Professor W. C. Wilkinson then rose to extol the freedom of handling, which had indeed proved emancipating, and at the same time the religious spirit amounting to an unction from the Holy One, which had distinguished the lecturer. Last, the Rev. E. F. Williams stated that never had he heard a lecturer so many times in succession from whom he had learned so much. The sequent, loud and prolonged applause showed how representative these expressions had been. The eminent lecturer, the only uncomfortable man present, expressed himself as equally grateful and humble, believing that a little insight and a little sincerity had drawn so many hearers when eloquence alone must have failed.

These remarkable testimonies, not to mention the high repute of the lecturer, call for a summary in these columns. Lack of space precludes notice in this issue of the lectures devoted to evolution and agnosticism.

THE HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF CHRISTIANITY.—The influence of faith upon the sacred record has been greatly exaggerated, as appears from the following considerations: (1) The theory of two parties in the primitive church should be revised by viewing them as a fact-party and an idea-party, the former of which should be named the Christ-party. (2) Luke's introduction to his gospel shows that even within the Pauline idea-party were some possessed by the historic spirit. (3) Peter's frank, impulsive, often inconsistent nature, while making him a weak apostle, made him a first-class witness, and his traits reappear in Mark's Gospel. (4) The existence of so many gospels favors historicity.

These considerations tend to check skepticism, though they do not solve all doubts. My bias on ethico-religious grounds is towards historicity.

Canons of historicity are: (1) Synoptical agreement. (2) When absence is explicable by some known bias. (3) When the singly attested item stands in agreement with or complement to other well attested items. (4) When the record suits the circumstances. (5) When unique religious genius is manifest.

Omitting the miraculous element in Christ's experience, we may consider the miracle in his healing ministry as follows: (1) Did it happen? (2) Was it really miraculous? (3) What is its present value?

The healing ministry really happened, for: (1) It was so associated with preaching that the popular mind considered Jesus a healer. (2) Eleven miracles are recorded by all synoptists. Thus the primitive apostolic gospel included miracles, which therefore did not originate in later mythic fancy. (3) Miracles are so interwoven with didactic material that they cannot be eliminated without destroying the latter. For example, most of the utterances of Jesus about faith were connected with miracles. (4) The miracles made impressions of wonder and occasioned theories as to their source, *e. g.*, in Beelzebub. (5) The healing ministry was original with Jesus, and therefore not demanded by precedent.

The problem whether the miracles were strictly such is not vital to faith. Where the old apologetic made signs a proof of revelation, the modern makes them a part of it. Whatever the nature and source of the healing power, it was certainly extraordinary. Do you smile at this view? Then offer a better one in its place. To say that Jesus wrought miracles because God may be worth very little to one's mind. Better wonder over them.

While the value of the miracles was formerly overestimated, the present tendency is towards an opposite extreme. They are important as implying the value of the body, and therefore as a protest against asceticism, and also as an example of philanthropy. However, such alleged miracles as the rising of many dead at the crucifixion, and indeed all cases of rising from the dead may be critically examined.

Modern criticism thinks it finds in the history of the passion some baseless reports and legends based on Old Testament texts. However, granting all that Brandt claims, enough is left to give tragic significance and even serve as theological basis. The undoubted bias of the evangelists to identify Jesus as the Messiah formed a temptation to manufacture facts, yet it is much more probable that facts suggested texts in themselves obscure.

The passion history has great didactic value in that: (1) It exemplifies the destiny of righteousness in this world, and thus teaches faith. (2) It is the story of love. (3) It encourages hope for the world. (4) It secures to Christ's death its rightful place in human thought, namely above that sacerdotalism which makes the Lord's Supper more than a memorial feast, and that dogmatism which subordinates the event to some speculative theory. Further, the passion history has value as a record of the satisfaction given for sin.

HISTORICAL CHRISTIANITY AS A TEST OF ECCLESIASTICAL CHRISTIANITY.

—Ecclesiasticism claims that the church, as a normal evolution, has preserved all vital truth, and that God is with it now as in the first centuries. But does not the purity of these centuries point back to something purer? And has not the church often fallen into need of reform, which was effected by those who heeded the historic Christ? The church's idea of God is not even yet Christianized, and it has looked to Paul rather than Christ for its doctrine of salvation. Finally, one who taught the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man could not possibly have originated Romanism.

HISTORICAL CHRISTIANITY AS A TEST OF PHILOSOPHICAL CHRISTIANITY.

—Philosophy prefers ideas to facts, and thus threatens danger when as now it becomes a *Zeitgeist*. But fortunately at the same time the general acceptance of the evolution theory has brought history to its rights. The history of a thing is the thing. Philosophy must not despise religious crises and personalities, whence we may cherish the memory of Jesus. Whatever transformations Christianity may undergo, it must ever owe most to Jesus, who first taught free communion with God as Father, and to regard men as his sons.

The weak side of the philosophical school is surrendering at discretion to negative criticism. Thus did the late Professor T. H. Green, of whom I must speak with profound respect as a leader of noble young men. Nor do I condemn his position, considering that it was taken under the great destructive influence of Strauss. But this attitude need not be made permanent.

Where Green offered us *ideas*, Brandt—the present Strauss in point of destructiveness—presents us with *ideals*. Truth or fiction, what does it matter? We possess the picture in Jesus, the ideal of human goodness, and that is enough. But we must ask Brandt, will this merely ideal factor really help us to live a noble life, or does not it rather reduce goodness to a poet's dream? Does not the history of the Netherlands owe its power to the fact that the heroism was actually there?

Again, Professor E. Caird and some others claim that no *individual*—not even Christ—can adequately represent the union between the divine and human. Then was not the ethical so realized in Christ that no better realization is possible? The catholic church says it was. It is true that this perfect realization cannot be demonstrated from the gospels, but they point that way, and surely Jesus is likely to retain his preëminence in the moral sphere. His actions can, of course, be translated into their modern equivalents.

The *beginning* of faith is a mystery in any case, and may come through gospel, church, or philosophy, but its nourishment must be sought chiefly in the gospels. Our intuitions need support, and our inferences confirmation, and they can find them in the gospels. Thus, with the hope of Socrates contrast the confidence of Jesus.

HISTORIC CHRISTIANITY AS A CORRECTIVE OF PIETISM.—Pietism is emotional Christianity, and considers a sudden, sensible, dateable, and stateable religious experience the indispensable beginning, and fluctuations of

grace the proper staple of religious life. Pietism makes the Spirit's work fitful and arbitrary, and the power that works in us transcendent, immediate, mysterious and magical. It is most at home in the Fourth Gospel and the Epistles, and makes even the Lord's Prayer obsolete because it contains no reference to the atonement. Pietism really puts emotion above morality, while yet it opposes amusement and tends to asceticism. It is invariably censorious of others, while the peccadillos and even the sins of the coterie are viewed indulgently as designed to keep it humble. These our spiritual exquisites easily combine and easily separate again. Finally pietism shows ignorant impatience at delay in the sanctification both of the individual and the world. These pietist conceptions are *not harmless*, for they ever tend to breed self-deception or self-despair. The corrective lies in the synoptic gospels which make paramount an anti-Pharisaic and anti-ascetic morality, and teach growth in grace.

FOUR TYPES OF THOUGHT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT—THE TYPE IN THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.—The phrase Kingdom of God, or Kingdom of Heaven is characteristic here. Its meaning is given not by definition but only by discriminative use. Its Old Testament meaning is but a partial guide, for Jesus was in marked degree original. The surest guide to its meaning appears in the term Father as applied to God. As both concepts are fundamental they must coincide. This term Father likewise characterizes the synoptic gospels. Here all are children of God, while in the Fourth Gospel only certain believers are.

According to the synoptists Jesus accepts but does not parade the title of Christ. He prefers the title Son of Man, which he nowhere defines, but uses in the sense of the man, the brother and passionate lover of man. This title is absent from the epistles and is used in the Fourth Gospel in theological rather than ethical connotations. Worship is John's object, love that of the synoptists.

Finally the synoptists agree as to the experience of Jesus, who taught that this was no exception, since a godly life could not be lived without trouble. This truth forms the ethical basis of the passion. Paul regards the sufferings of Christ as *sui generis*. Christ's reply to Job's question, Why do the righteous suffer? is just because they are righteous, in reaction from an ungodly world. Again, evil may be converted into good by acceptance, as lifting into a region of heroic joy. Lastly, cross-bearing is redemptive, whether in the case of Christ or Christians.

PAUL'S VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY.—Paul was trained in Rabbinical learning and in Pharisaic practice. The Rabbinical God was a legislator and the relation of man to him was legal. When Paul became a Christian he taught contrariwise that God was a giver, and his theology attempts to formulate this view, sometimes, however, supporting it by Rabbinical arguments. The righteousness of God is the key-word to this theology, and is nowhere else in the New Testament used in the same sense, viz., the righteousness which God

gives, an original and daring view. God is the Father of adopted and, therefore, unreal sons. Here the phraseology is legal, though the principle is anti-legal. Romans, chap. 8, shows how really Paul views the relation as vital. Paul's doctrine of sin is not vital to faith, and is much disputed. For example, the relation of Adam to man, the view that flesh is incurably bad, and that the law was meant only to irritate, find no support in the teaching of our Lord. I do not say they are wrong, but we can wait for further light. The now commonplace view that the Holy Spirit is the immanent source of Christian holiness was original with Paul when others regarded him as the source of miraculous powers.

CHRISTIANITY ACCORDING TO THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.—The style and ideas show that Paul did not write this epistle and perhaps Apollos of Alexandria was its author, since a student of Philo meets familiar phrases in it. The central conception is nearness to God by Jesus as forerunner, in contrast with the distance observed under the Levitical law. Jesus is shown superior to prophets and angels, the agents of revelation, and to Moses and Aaron, the agents of redemption. Reference to the angels was concessive and not emphatic. Had the writer addressed us, he would probably have omitted them altogether. This superiority of Jesus is always based on his sonship. Thus with superiority in revelation, since a son has perfect intimacy with his father. So, as priest, the sonship of Jesus finds its type, not in Aaron but in Melchisedek who was a royal priest in virtue of dignity not ancestry. Then the relation of Christ as a son to the universe is stated. Here Philo may—but I think not—have influenced our writer. Jesus though divine could suffer, for glory and humiliation are not in absolute antithesis. Suffering is a privilege when it serves to help others. Again, the sufferings of Jesus served for discipline. This differs from Paul's view, and there is no use in trying to assimilate the two. But occasionally the sufferings of Jesus are said to be sacrificial. This sacrifice was eternal, that is, realized its ideal, and nothing better on the matter can be said.

THE TYPE OF THOUGHT IN THE FOURTH GOSPEL.—This gospel was written either by John or a disciple of John of the School at Ephesus. The synoptic gospels show Jesus as a man godlike, the Fourth Gospel as a god imperfectly manlike. And they report words as different as are the personalities. All admit difficulty in regarding both accounts as primary, and some conservative critics, as Watkins, in his Bampton Lecture, suppose the variation from the original to be in the Fourth Gospel. Provisionally accepting this view, let us study its theology as that of an Ephesian disciple. Analysis of the conception of Jesus given in the first eighteen verses of the book will reveal the writer's characteristics. There Jesus is represented as divine to whom it happened that he became flesh. This view exemplifies the trait of eternity. The entire absence of shading, as, *e. g.*, between light and darkness, is an example of the other trait, absoluteness. Here is no progress, no birth, boyhood or growth in the eternal Christ who simply became flesh. The abso-

luteness appears in the contrast between sons of God and sons of the Devil, between life and death, and the like. With this, contrast the moral discriminations between Pharisees and Publicans reported by the synoptists. This absolute moral judgment appears again in the saying, "All before me were thieves and robbers." This gives substantially the position of Christ, but the claim is expressed in unqualified terms where shading is needed. I think the lesson of the synoptists should be learned first, and I reject the view of Clement and some others that the Fourth Gospel reveals the heart of Christ, where the synoptists present only the exterior.

These two traits help to an understanding of the theology of the work.

1. The Gospel is eternal life, which means life indeed and true, without distinctions of space, time, quality, or quantity, the same on earth and in heaven, not subject to growth, and sinless. But we know that such statements are true only of the divine ideal, and that in experience is a difference between now and then, etc.

2. The writer's conception of God is implied in the prevailing term, the Father, whereas the synoptists write *your* Father. Here the universal aspect is lacking. The sons of God are born not of blood. That God is good to all is not proclaimed.

3. In the doctrine of man no shading in moral judgment is observed. The dualism is so thoroughgoing as to suggest, though not to justify, the view that God could not have been the common creator of men. It resembles Manichean dualism so much that we cannot say the latter is not taught. This is Scylla, while minimizing moral distinctions is Charybdis.

4. The conception of Jesus is given in such expressions as, "I am the bread of life," and "I and the Father are one." These amount to a declaration that Jesus is sufficient for the religious need of man, and therefore is God. They may have been put into the mouth of Jesus, while really only the opinion of the writer drawn from the facts in the case.

5. The death of Jesus is regarded as the glorification of Jesus. The reference to a grain of wheat states that death in terms of natural law, and suggests a universal principle of which Christ's death was the highest case.

6. Entrance to life is made through the new birth, which is eternal and absolute. The sheep are all good, and never perish.

All this is noble, but I am thankful that it does not stand alone. It is too Alpine for constant residence. We must go to the synoptists to find one like us in all things, one only—sin—excepted.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE FALSE PROPHETS. By REV. PROFESSOR A. B. DAVIDSON, in the *Expositor*, July 1895. Pages 1 to 17.

The phrase "false prophets" does not occur in the Old Testament; but it is said of certain prophets that in their statements concerning the future, or their counsels in connection with a particular occasion, they deceived the people. The people, however, did not understand a prophet to be a false prophet if occasionally he spoke what they could not accept or believed to be false. They merely assumed that the Lord had not spoken by him in this particular instance. Compare the case of Jeremiah 43 : 2, whom, nevertheless, the exiles drag down with them into Egypt. How was it that prophets spoke falsely, and how did the people believe them?

1. It is difficult to understand how there could have been false prophets. We wonder how the people should ever have disobeyed the prophet, and how a counterfeit to him should ever have appeared. But if we remember that in the time of Christ the same condition of things appeared, and that in our own day, though we have the Word of God in fuller form, multitudes do not accept it, we should not be surprised at Israel's neglect of the true prophets. It is to be remembered that in ancient Israel there were perplexities as to conduct and faith similar to those of today. There was a Divine voice among the people, but it spoke through the voice of man, "and there was always room to doubt whether the particular voice of man was God's, or when competing voices were heard which was his." The people were doubtless helped (1) by the *prophetic ecstasy*; but this was natural to an Oriental people, and was not essential in true prophecy. So common a phenomenon could not be an unfailing test of the truth or falsity of the prophetic statement. (2) *By miracles*—as in the case of Elijah on Mt. Carmel, but the miracle of the Old Testament did not contain it in any meaning arising from the idea of "law," for the idea of law did not exist; and, besides (a), it is distinctly asserted that others besides Jehovah and his servants worked miracles (Exod. 7 : 11); (b) a false prophet is permitted to work signs (Deut. 13 : 1); (c) from the time of Amos down miracles are rare in the history of prophecy. (3) *By the verification* of the prophet's word and fulfilment. But this could only be realized by the nation whose life was continuous in distinction from the individual, for predictions of the near future were only occasional. The prophecies usually bore upon the destinies of the state, and were thrown into a somewhat indefinite future, "and the people frequently complained that the vision was for many days to come, and of times that are far off

(Ezek. 12:22).” The main teaching of the prophets had to do with the downfall of the state, and in respect to this the most important differences between true and false prophets arise. It was only when the prophet spoke too distinctly in reference to the future of the state that they were persecuted, and when their conclusions were thought to be treasonable.

2. Certain kinds of false prophets need only to be mentioned. (1) Those who were connected with local sanctuaries, and who maintained this connection for the sake of gaining a living; who prophesy for hire exactly what the audience wish to hear (Michaiah 3:5); (2) those who prophesy by other gods than Jehovah, for example, Baal; (3) those who made use of augury, necromancy, and various kinds of divinations. “Prophecy may be said to have been the intuition of truth accompanied by, not the conviction, but the consciousness that God was giving it.” When the prophet of Jehovah used the acts of divination, it indicated a defective conception on his part of God’s nature.

3. But men who spoke in Jehovah’s name and always used proper methods, who supposed themselves to have Jehovah’s word in their heart, sometimes gave forth conflicting opinions of that word. At times they would advise contrary political policies, at others predict different issues in regard to some enterprise (cf. 1 Kings 22). Michaiah was a true prophet; the 400 were false prophets. False prophets were those by whom Jehovah did *not* speak. But is it not also true that God did not speak by those prophets because they were false? Michaiah held one view of Jehovah’s nature and his kingdom; the 400 had a different view. They prophesied good for Ahab; Michaiah prophesied evil. “Both the true prophecy and the false had a soil in the past out of which they grew; they are both historical phenomena, marking different degrees of insight into the nature of Jehovah and the principles of the religion of Israel.” It must be remembered that the Israelites absorbed much that was impure from the people whom they conquered. Their life as well as their blood was tainted by this mixture. The Baal worship on the high places invited the Jehovah worship. The service of Jehovah was assimilated to the heathen worship, and the lofty ethical conception of God sank down to the level of a nature-god.

Ostensibly the people worshiped Jehovah, but their conception of him was one proper rather to Baal. Yet in spite of all this the ancient Mosaic conception of Jehovah existed. The prophets were not innovators. Jehovah is the historical God of Israel (Hos. 13:4). It is the people who have changed (Isa. 1:4). Here now were two conceptions of God; the pure and the impure.

Hence arose two parties which exist throughout Israelitish history; between them there is antagonism as seen in the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, and in the counter reform of Manasseh and the reaction at the death of Josiah. The spokesmen of the true conception were true prophets, of the impure conception were false prophets. The false prophet believed that Jehovah was indissolubly connected with Israel. He must exercise his power to save Israel and their enemies. “They laid much stress on his power, little if any

on his moral being, and therefore little on the moral condition of the people. Hence their optimism: they saw nothing alarming in the social state of the people, and they prophesied peace." The true prophets thought of Jehovah's righteousness rather than of his power, and consequently understood him to be something larger and greater than the God of a nation. Israel, as a nationality, was nothing to God. If Israel were not righteous he could not be their God. Hence the true prophets were pessimists; they could only see disaster (Jer. 28:8). Consequently the true prophets gradually abandon the idea of the kingdom of God as a state, and grow towards the conception of the church. Their patriotism was misunderstood because they regarded as essential the nature of the kingdom of God rather than its form. "They were able to understand that the state might perish and the community of believers would live." And this ethical nature of the true prophecy is really its characteristic, and that by which it is to be estimated, rather than by the literal fulfilment of its predictive details. The predictions were only embodiments of the ethical and religious principles, projections often so ideal that they could not be literally realized. "But the great general scope of the prophetic outlook regarding the destinies of the kingdom of God, whether nearer or more remote, were verified."

The distinctions made in this article are definite and real. One is compelled to think that no more important contribution to the study of prophecy, considering the space occupied, has been made for many years. The discussion exhibits (1) an adherence to the old school in the main as distinct from the new school of biblical historians, (2) a broad and comprehensive appreciation of the multitude of facts which must be taken into any theory of prophecy, and (3) a cautiousness and delicacy of feeling which are too frequently lacking in modern theological discussions.

W. R. H.

"SLEEP ON NOW AND TAKE YOUR REST," Matt. 26:45 and Mark 14:41.

By Director J. Aars, of Christiania in *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (1895), pp. 378-383.

In the *Theologisk Tidsskrift for den norske Kirke*, January, 1886, the author (Aars) endeavored to prove that none of the current explanations of this sentence are correct, that the words are neither a question nor a command, but a sad or mildly admonitory exclamation, and that τὸ λοιπὸν cannot mean "now" or "further" or the like, but must mean "well" or "then."

This meaning of τὸ λοιπὸν had already been given in E. A. Sophocles' *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, and is also found in the Appendix by R. C. Jebb to Vincent and Dickson's *Handbook of Modern Greek*, 2d ed. London, 1887.

This interpretation, however, seems to have attracted little attention among theologians, and the writer has been asked to give a résumé of his argument in a German periodical. He does so the more willingly because the view

referred to was adopted by the late Professor Caspari as well as the other members of the committee for a new Norwegian translation of the New Testament.

The two verbs can be taken as interrogative only in case τὸ λοιπὸν means "still," but this is impossible. Taken as imperatives they not only give an entirely different sense from the question, "Why sleep ye?" Luke 22:45, but stand in sharp contradiction both with the preceding, "Watch and pray," and especially with the following, "Rise, let us go." This amounts to an absolute impossibility, if, in Mark, with its added, "It is enough," we translate, "Sleep on and rest! You have slept enough." Such cutting irony as this interpretation involves cannot be reconciled with the temper which all the other words of Jesus in these last hours, especially in Gethsemane, manifest.

The question thus arises whether the expression can be understood as purely indicative; to which it must be answered that it can, but only if τὸ λοιπὸν means "so then."

This meaning, common in modern Greek, can be traced far back. Sophocles gives examples from various writers who belong to the second century A.D., and the beginning of the third; and even from one writer, Polybius, of the second century B.C. See 1, 15, 11; 1, 30, 8; 3, 96, 14; 8, 6, 8; 8, 7, 10. Schweighäuser's *Lexicon* gives also, 2, 68, 9; 4, 32, 5; 10, 45, 2. In some at least of these passages the meaning of "then" or "accordingly" seems unquestionable. I believe, however, that the beginnings of this usage are to be found much earlier. In Plato, *Gorgias* 458 (cited also by Jebb), the question is raised whether Socrates and Gorgias shall continue a discussion in which they are engaged. Chairephon and Callias urge them to continue, and when Socrates indicates his willingness to do so, Gorgias says, ἀσχαρὸν δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν, ὃ Σωκράτης, γίγνεται ἐμέ γε μὴ εἶδελαι, "then it would certainly be a shame for me to refuse." In *Menon* 99 B. it is argued that if virtue cannot be taught, then it is not knowledge, and in that case men like Themistocles have not guided the states by wisdom of any kind and not because they were wise men; on this account also they were not able to impart their virtue to others because it did not rest on knowledge; οὐκοῦν εἰ μὴ ἐπιστήμη, εὐδοξία δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν γίγνεται, "accordingly, if not through knowledge, then indeed (i. e., the only alternative is that) it comes about through right judgment."

These two passages show well the development of the meaning. In both the original sense of "that which remains" can be discerned.

Plato, it is to be observed, uses the article, τὸ λοιπὸν. Apparently before the time of Polybius it became customary to omit the article when the word was used in the derived sense of a weak "therefore." In post-classical writers both forms occur, though the omission of the article is more frequent, as in modern Greek. In the New Testament passage the best manuscripts vary so as to make a positive decision impossible.

Four facts appear therefore: (1) As early as Plato τὸ λοιπὸν is used in a sense nearly approaching "therefore" or "then." (2) In Polybius both λοιπὸν and τὸ λοιπὸν have in several passages the meaning "then." (3) The same occurs in several writers of the Roman and Byzantine period. (4) Finally, it is constant in modern Greek. It may be assumed, therefore, that this usage existed in New Testament times. It seems probable that the expression belonged for centuries to the colloquial language, and only occasionally appeared in the literary language. This would explain why it appears so seldom in the New Testament. For, in the majority of the New Testament instances of the phrase, it undoubtedly means "besides," or something akin to that. In Acts 27:20 the word probably means "finally," but the passage shows how near the inferential sense lies to the temporal. In Heb. 10:13 "henceforth" (as in R. V.) is the most probable meaning. In 2 Tim. 4:8, however, the meaning "therefore" seems most appropriate, "therefore there is laid up for me a crown of rejoicing."

If the meaning of τὸ λοιπὸν here advocated is correct, the words of Jesus in Matt. 26:45 and Mark 14:41 are most naturally understood as an exclamation of pain or grief, "So you are sleeping and taking rest!"—a sharp contrast to the conflict through which he had just passed, and at the same time to his previous exhortation to the disciples, "Watch and pray."

This is a most interesting suggestion concerning the interpretation of a sentence which has puzzled many readers and interpreters. Luther, in his translation of the New Testament, rendered it as a question, *Ach wolt ihr nun schlafen und ruhen?* Weizsäcker gives essentially the same sense, *Ihr schlafet fort und ruhet?* You are sleeping on and resting? Since the question (if such it is) is evidently one of surprise rather than of inquiry, these translations come nearly to the same thing as the interpretation of Aars; but are open to the objection that they take λοιπὸν in a sense apparently not justified by usage, and which Aars at least says is impossible. Segond translates it, *Dormez maintenant et reposez-vous*, and Stapfer also, except that he omits *et*, giving the same sense as our English translations, *Sleep on now and take your rest*. The view of Aars seems to rest upon substantial evidence, and certainly avoids some of the evident objections to the hitherto prevalent translations. E. D. B.

Notes and Opinions.

Recent Criticism of the Pauline Epistles.—One of the newest books upon this subject is by Dr. Carl Clemen, entitled *Die Einheitlichkeit der Paulinischen Briefe, etc.* Professor Marcus Dods, commenting upon this work in the *Critical Review* (July 1895), speaks thus of the subject and of Dr. Clemen's view of it: "The possibility that the Pauline epistles may have admitted interpolations from the hand of revisers, or may have received additions at the instance of the original writer, or may have been made up into their present form by combining letters or fragments originally separate, cannot well be denied. And yet, when admitted, this possibility opens an alarmingly wide door to conjectural emendations and unbridled criticism. We know so little of the first fortunes of the letters which churches or individuals received, and so little understand the feelings with which they would originally be regarded, or the use which might be made of them either by friends or enemies, that it is impossible, *a priori*, to deny that they may have been tampered with, and may not now exist in the form in which they came from their writer's hand. They were not at once put into wide circulation, nor were they regularly read even by the churches to which they were addressed. They were written on frail papyrus, and in the course of years would be reproduced. Copyists might not be absolutely infallible; words, sentences, possibly loose pages, might be misplaced. In profane literature there are many instances of the revisal of books either by their authors or by others. Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides revised and retouched their own plays; the great orators issued differing editions of their speeches, and it is a small part of extant classical literature which can claim to have been exempt from the 'emendations' and reconstructions of ancient editors. It is also known that in those times as now the writer sometimes added a sentence on the margin or interlined it.

"It is the task of criticism to discover how far these normal hazards of ancient literature attach to the Pauline letters, and to what extent these most precious relics of antiquity have been affected by them. The possibility of referring a letter to two hands or to two different occasions presents so easy a means of accounting for all apparent contradictions and inconsistencies, and so ready an instrument for getting rid of all that does not approve itself to the often very limited apprehension of the critic, that its enthusiastic adoption by a certain school is not surprising. . . . In Holland especially, the work begun by Marcion and revived by these modern critics [Pierson and Naber, *Verisimilia*, 1886] has been diligently pursued. . . . In Germany, Steck and Völter represent the same tendency. Clemen, while he recognizes that much of this criticism has been arbitrary and futile, and while he does

not scruple to condemn many of the findings of the *Veristmilias* as 'not merely nonsensical, but even insane,' is yet of opinion that there is room for investigation, and that the whole truth about the relation of our received form of the Pauline letters to the original is not yet ascertained."

An abstract of Dr. Clemen's view^o of the epistles is then given: First and Second Thessalonians have come down to us intact. Galatians and Colossians are practically as they came from the hand of Paul, but in Col. 1:18-20 we have an addition by a redactor, in Gal. 3:18 we have the gloss of a stupid copyist, and in Gal. 6:3-5 and 6 we have two separate marginal notes by Paul himself. So also Rom. 2:14. On the usual grounds he considers Rom. 16:1-20 to have been originally addressed to Ephesus. In our two Epistles to the Corinthians he finds five epistles, either in whole or in part, pieced together or woven into one. In the Epistle to the Philippians the passages 2:19-24 and 3:2-4 are regarded as in their present connection irrelevant and dislocate the sequence of the epistle, and therefore are referred to an earlier Pauline letter to the Philippians. Ephesians is bodily dismissed; and the Pastoral Epistles are referred to several hands not exclusive of Paul's.

Harnack's View of the Supernatural in the Christian Religion.—In a review of Mackintosh's *Natural History of the Christian Religion* which appears in the *Theologische Literaturzeitung* (1895, No. 13), of which an abstract is published in the *Thinker* (August 1895), Professor Harnack dissents emphatically from the author's rigidly naturalistic view of the New Testament history. "I adhere to the view of history," he says, "which must seem to the author a relic of old superstition, a spectral faith. I am unable to accept as sufficient in the history of religion the 'common religious instinct,' etc.; and consequently in religion man himself appears to me a supernatural being—supernatural so far as spirit is not involved in nature. I believe in a variety of spirits as created by God, in their diverse power and diverse vocation in history, and in their inalienable, real, and personal relation to the living God, not in order to vindicate certain miraculous Scripture histories, but because only this conviction does justice to the facts of experience and history, and because only through it do we approach the real understanding of the Son of God and the children of God, and lift the veil from our own mystery. Certainly in this way, not only the 'natural history of the Christian religion,' but also the 'natural history of humanity,' is left behind; but not merely does Jesus Christ leave it behind, but every man who in covenant with God rises above nature or even seeks after God. History, as the author must have construed it in order to be just to his principles, is proof to me that this way is impracticable, because the poverty and weakness of the elements set in motion give but a threadbare, meager result. The history which one can gather from the New Testament without 'modern criticism,' and by quite simple intelligence, seems to me incomparably truer than the history presented by the author, in which religion only appears alongside morality as a 'mythi-

cal form.' We possess no work which compares with this one in the vigor of its logic, and which is so adapted to prove the tenableness of the opposite standpoint."

Primitive Christianity.—Under this title E. Menegoz, writing in the *Revue de Théologie et de Philosophie* (see abstract in the *Thinker*, August 1895), speaks of Professor Heinrici's recently published study of Eusebius, in which he speaks of the post-apostolic view of the New Testament writings. The results of his investigations are summed up in the following five points:

1. In the examination of tradition, Eusebius applies a psychological and historical criterion, by setting out from the conviction that Christianity is not a ritualistic religion, but a divine revelation, which takes possession of the whole of our life, and imparts to us strength and hope for life and for death.

2. Eusebius does not give a statement of the activities of the apostles; he does not give any special account of the tendencies of Peter, John or Paul; he does not inform us how Christianity took root in the various provinces of the empire; and only speaks incidentally of the ecclesiastical divergencies. But, on the other hand, he reveals to us the inward activity and spiritual power of Christian missionary work. He brings vividly into relief the personal factors of the case. He presents to us, as witnesses of the truth of Christianity, not only the twelve, but all those who were eyewitnesses of the life of Christ, and with them St. Paul.

3. In the period when the Church was founded, the written word of apostles and evangelists did not enjoy any special authority. It served eventually to complete and support personal activity. It was the Old Testament which was regarded as Holy Scripture. A new interpretation was given to it, and in it was found the proof of the truth of the Gospel. Israel was dispossessed of her national literature. Her spiritual heritage was transplanted into other soil, and expanded into new forms. The Old Testament was received as the Word of God, because in every part it revealed Christ.

4. In the first half of the second century, the writings of the apostolic age came gradually to take a position of authority side by side with those of the Old Testament. They took the place of the testimony of eyewitnesses; they were carefully preserved, communicated from one church to another, and read at meetings for worship. They were appealed to in settlement of disputes and for the solution of difficulties. A similar authority was ascribed to the writings of those who were leaders of the church in the generation which followed. But when, in conflicts with heretics, the need of a classical authority was felt, the heritage of the first generation became the canon of the New Testament. Distinctions were made between different classes of writings, and all were not treated as of equal value. Canonicity, in the restricted sense of the word, was only ascribed to writings which were, by a unanimous tradition, ascribed to men of the apostolic generation.

5. It is important to remark that, in the development of the Church, it is the influence of Paul which predominates. That of John occupies the second place; while that of Peter seems to have fallen into the background. As for Judæo-Christianity, it appears as neither hostile to the evangelization of the heathen, nor as favorable to it. The Christian community of Jerusalem, by removing to Pella, lost its prestige; and after the destruction of the Holy City, the new Christian community of Aelia Capitolina does not bear any impress of Judæo-Christianity. So far, indeed, as Judæo-Christianity manifested itself in an exclusive manner, it became heretical.

The Paradox of Divine Sovereignty and Human Free-will.—The Rev. A. C. Headlam, writing upon the Theology of the Epistle to the Romans in the *Expository Times* (September 1895), discusses chaps. 9-11 in their general theological import. His conclusion is that "the Calvinistic interpretation of chaps. 9-11 is certainly defective, as it misunderstands the drift of these chapters. While Eastern exegesis, as represented by St. Chrysostom, rightly interpreted St. Paul's argument, Western exegesis, following St. Augustine, has missed his point of view. It has assumed that St. Paul was primarily engaged in discussing the conditions upon which man receives grace; but, as we have seen, that was not his purpose. The problem before him was; How can we explain these claims of the new gospel, when we remember that the Jews have been rejected? And in answering that question he propounds his philosophy of history. The Calvinistic exegesis was wrong, therefore, in its interpretation of these chapters in mistaking St. Paul's purpose; but the problem which Calvin tried to solve still remains. There certainly is language used which seems to justify his interpretation, but we must state the question somewhat differently. What theory of the relation between the human and the divine will, what theory, in other words, of predestination and election, is implied in the discussion contained in these chapters, and elsewhere in these epistles? The problem is by no means a simple one. We read chap. 9, and we find a strong assertion of the divine sovereignty. Man is represented as clay in the hands of the potter; his whole life is distinctly stated to be the result not of his choice or will, but of the divine election. All interpretations which seek to evade this seem forced and unnatural. But we pass on to chap. 10, and the whole argument implies human free-will. Throughout, the Jews are condemned because they rejected the message which was offered to them, and rejected of themselves and through their own fault. How are these two chapters reconcilable? Arminian interpreters have explained away chap. 9, and they have been helped by some of the exaggerations of Calvinism; Calvinistic interpreters have explained away chap. 10. But in neither case can we accept their explanations.

"Gradually it is beginning to be admitted that the two chapters are irreconcilable, but this admission may be made in two ways. Fritzsche, one of the most learned commentators on the epistle, asserts that it came from St.

Paul's defective reasoning power: 'he would have argued better if he had been a pupil of Aristotle and not of Gamaliel.' Meyer, on the other hand, considers that this antithesis was deliberate, and that as a matter of fact all we can do is to state the two sides of the problem—we cannot solve it. That this opinion is right, is shown by very strong arguments. In the first place, this antithesis prevails all through St. Paul's writings: 'Work out your own salvation, for it is God who worketh in you both to will and to do of his good pleasure' (Phil. 2:12, 13). So again, in Rom. 1:28, we read: 'God gave them up unto a reprobate mind,' followed in 2:1 by the words, 'thou art without excuse.' Then again it was the traditional teaching of the Jewish schools in which St. Paul had been brought up. Josephus tells us that the Pharisees stated that all things were in the hands of God and fate, but that each man could choose whether he would do good or evil. And in the *Sayings of the Jewish Fathers* occurs this passage: 'Everything is foreseen, and free-will is given; and the world is judged by grace; and everything is according to works.' St. Paul, brought up as a Pharisee, must certainly have heard the questions discussed, and considered the difficulties of both sides. It is inconceivable that he should have used the language which he habitually does without being conscious of the difficulty, or apparent difficulty, involved in it. And again, this solution (if it can be called a solution) has been that of all deep religious feeling, and is the necessary condition of religious life. If God be omniscient and omnipotent, all things must be in his hands. If man is to be in any real sense of the word 'moral,' he must be a free agent. These two are irreconcilable. We can only state them both, and believe that the fact that they are so arises from the limitations of our mind, not of God's power."

Work and Workers.

THE publication of the second and concluding part of the excellent article on "Biblical Theology" by Rev. Professor G. H. Gilbert, Ph.D., has been delayed from unforeseen causes for which the author is not responsible. It will appear at an early date. Part first was published in the BIBLICAL WORLD for July, 1895.

A WORK by W. St. Chad Boscawen, entitled *The Bible and the Monuments: The Primitive Hebrew Records in the Light of Modern Research*, has just been published by E. & J. B. Young.

A SHORT, students' Grammar of New Testament Greek is in course of preparation by Professor Blass, of Halle. Professor Link, of Königsberg, is also understood to be engaged upon a similar work.

THE chair of Hebrew and Church History in the German Theological Seminary, at Newark, N. J., made vacant recently by the deposition of Dr. Hauser, is to be filled by the Rev. H. J. Weber, Ph.D., pastor of the German Presbyterian Church of Peace, in Philadelphia, Pa.

THE second and third volumes of the *International Critical Commentary*, edited by Professors Driver, Plummer and Briggs, are now ready. The second is upon *Judges*, by Rev. George Moore, D.D., Professor of Hebrew at Andover Theological Seminary. The third is upon *Romans*, by Rev. William Sanday, D.D., Professor of Divinity, Oxford, and Rev. A. C. Headlam, Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. The publishers in this country are Scribners, New York.

SEVERAL changes have been made in the faculty of Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston. The appointment of Dr. Charles J. Little to the presidency, in place of the late Dr. Ridgaway, was announced some time ago. Dr. Wheeler has been appointed to the chair of sacred history. Dr. Miner Raymond, who has occupied the chair of Christian doctrine, has resigned, and Dr. Milton S. Terry is to take his place. Professor Charles Horswell will have charge of all instruction in Hebrew, and Professor W. W. Bishop, succeeding Professor Huddilston, will teach Greek.

THE editors of the great Cambridge edition of the Septuagint are Norman McLean, of Christ's College, Cambridge, and A. E. Brooke, of King's College, Cambridge. This edition of the LXX. will give Swete's text (already issued in a manual edition) with a complete apparatus containing the readings of those manuscripts which a preliminary examination of all the manuscripts (including minuscules) shows to be important, together with the readings

attested by the more important versions. The first volume, comprising the Octateuch, will occupy at least five years in preparation.

THE Pacific Theological Seminary (Congregational) at Oakland, Cal., announces some changes for the coming year. The department of English Bible instruction is to be in more permanent condition and under the care of Professor J. H. Goodell, who has been very successful in similar work in the Oakland Normal training class. Professor Goodell will give his whole time to the seminary work. The department of sociology will be enlarged. On account of Professor Nash's ill-health his work will be apportioned among his associates for some time; but it is expected that he will before long be able to take up full duties again. There have been additions to the library, and students are able to avail themselves, without expense, of the library of the University of California and also of Oakland City Library.

THE provisions for instruction in Lane Theological Seminary during the coming year are being arranged as rapidly as possible. Dr. Morris will continue to have general charge and deliver his lectures on systematic theology and superintend the work in homiletics; Professor Hulbert will give instruction in general church history, and lecture on the geography of Palestine; Mr. Fullerton will instruct in Hebrew and New Testament Greek; Dr. A. B. Riggs will lecture on the exegesis and theology of the Epistles; Professor J. M. Chapman, formerly of Wabash College, will reside in the seminary and give weekly training in voice culture and public elocution. There will be a large number of lectures by the representatives of the different boards, and Dr. W. E. Moore, of Columbus, O., will give instruction on pastoral theology and church administration. Special lectures, also, are expected from Dr. Niccols of St. Louis, Dr. S. J. McPherson of Chicago, President Burroughs of Wabash, President Thwing of the Western Reserve, and others.

DR. HERBERT EDWARD RYLE, Professor of Divinity, Cambridge, has just published through Macmillan & Co. an interesting book on *Philo and Holy Scripture*, with introduction and notes. In this work an attempt has been made for the first time to collect, arrange in order, and print in full all the actual quotations from the books of the Old Testament to be found in Philo's writings, and a few of his typical paraphrases. The quotations give large fragments of the Greek Bible used by the most eminent Alexandrian Jews of that century, and, as they illustrate the methods of quotation pursued by Jews of learning and piety who belonged to the same generation as the Apostles, they deserve the close attention of all students of the New Testament and early Christian literature. The footnotes, which are intended to give general assistance to students, deal principally with the text of Philo's quotations compared with that of the Septuagint, and the Introduction is devoted to an explanation of Philo's attitude toward the Holy Scripture, and the character of the variations of his text from that of the Septuagint.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL IN SYRIA.

A CIRCULAR has been issued under the auspices of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis relating to a proposal set forth by its president in his annual address, at Hartford, June 13, that an American School for Oriental Study and Research be established in Palestine. Its aim is to ascertain how far such a project is likely to receive the support of those most interested in the objects which such a school would endeavor to further.

The object of the school would be to afford graduates of American Theological Seminaries, and other similarly qualified persons, opportunity to prosecute biblical and linguistic investigations under more favorable conditions than can be secured at a distance from the Holy Land; to enable them to study the "Fifth Gospel;" to gather material for the illustration of the biblical narratives; to settle doubtful points in biblical topography; to identify historic localities; to explore, and, if possible, excavate sacred sites.

Its experimental establishment requires that a score or more of institutions, or individuals, interested in these objects should pledge themselves to contribute *not less than one hundred dollars annually for the term of five years*. Before the expiration of that period it is hoped that the school will succeed in vindicating its claim to liberal gifts from the friends of sacred learning. But even with the limited income indicated, it is believed, modest but adequate quarters can be secured for the residence of the director and his family, for the meetings of the members of the school, and the accommodation of its necessary books and collections.

The school will be kept wholly free from obligations or preferences as respects any religious denomination or literary institution. Its general administration will be entrusted to a board of twelve (?) managers, three (?) of whom will be displaced annually, and all of whom be elected annually by vote of the several institutions and individuals coöperating in the maintenance of the school. Such institutions and individuals shall also have the privilege of appointing annually a resident or literary director, in addition to such a head as may have—it is hoped—more permanent oversight of explorations in the field. Such annual or associate director shall have the general oversight of the school, and shall make a full report in writing of its work during his year of residence, at the annual meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.

Students will be required to pay no fees to the school, but must—at least until the school is endowed with scholarships—provide for their own necessary expenses, which are estimated at something like five hundred dollars a year. The school year will extend from October to June, and all regular

students will be expected to remain in connection with the institution during the whole of that period; and to embody the results of their study or researches in one or more theses, to be submitted to the director annually in charge, and, if approved by him, transmitted to the publishing committee of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis for publication in its journal.

It is believed that Beirut will commend itself as the most eligible place for the headquarters of the school; although undeniably the chief interest and attraction for the student and explorer lie in the Land of Promise.

But leaving details to be determined by those who coöperate in the enterprise, allow us, in expressing our approval of it, to request you to bring it to the attention of any institution or individual likely to engage in it, and to urge all willing to make the required pledge to send word to that effect *not later* than the first day of November next, in order that they may meet and appoint a board of managers at the time of the next meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in New York in December.

Professor E. T. Bartlett, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.; Professor Willis J. Beecher, D.D., Auburn, N. Y.; Professor E. D. Burton, D.D., Chicago, Ill.; President W. R. Harper, D.D., Chicago, Ill.; Professor H. V. Hilprecht, Ph.D., Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. Selah Merrill, D.D., LL.D., Andover, Mass.; Professor H. G. Mitchell, D.D., Boston, Mass.; Professor George F. Moore, D.D., Andover, Mass.; Professor W. W. Moore, D.D., LL.D., Hampden-Sidney, Va.; Professor L. B. Paton, Hartford, Conn.; Professor F. C. Porter, New Haven, Conn.; Professor G. T. Purves, D.D., Princeton, N. J.; Professor M. B. Riddle, D.D., Allegheny, Pa.; Professor C. J. H. Ropes, D.D., Bangor, Me.; Professor Nathaniel Schmidt, Hamilton, N. Y.; President A. H. Strong, Rochester, N. Y.; Professor M. S. Terry, D.D., Evanston, Ill.; Rev. H. Clay Trumbull, D.D., Philadelphia, Pa.; Rev. W. Hayes Ward, D.D., LL.D., New York; Professor Theodore F. Wright, Ph.D., Cambridge, Mass.; Professor A. C. Zenos, D.D., Chicago, Ill.

Names may be sent to

J. HENRY THAYER, Cambridge, Mass.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

THE BIBLE STUDENT'S READING GUILD.

The subject to be studied by members of the Bible Student's Reading Guild, (The Founding of the Christian Church), together with the list of books for the year, has already been announced. The division of the material into portions according to the month in which each portion is to be studied, will be helpful to those intending to take up the work. This division will be as follows:

October. The Beginnings of Christianity, chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4. In the Time of Jesus, chaps. 1, 2, 3, 4. Essay (1) How Rome Governed the Provinces. (2a) Roman Jurisdiction in Palestine. (2b) A Roman Provincial Trial. THE BIBLICAL WORLD—Introduction to the Acts.

November. The Beginnings of Christianity, chaps. 5, 6. In the Time of Jesus, chaps. 5, 6, 7, 8. Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age, Part I. The Apostolic Era (corresponding chaps.). Essay (3) The Jewish Dispersion of the First Century. THE BIBLICAL WORLD (articles to be indicated).

December. Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age, Part II. The Apostolic Era (corresponding chaps.). Essay (4) The Conversion of Saul. THE BIBLICAL WORLD (articles to be indicated).

January. Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age, Part III. The Apostolic Era (corresponding chaps.). Essay (5) The Transition from Judaism to Christianity, and from Judaic Christianity to Universal Christianity. THE BIBLICAL WORLD (articles to be indicated).

February. Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age, Part III. The Apostolic Era (corresponding chaps.). THE BIBLICAL WORLD (articles to be indicated).

March. Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age, Part IV. The Apostolic Era (corresponding chaps.). THE BIBLICAL WORLD (articles to be indicated).

April. Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age, Part IV. The Apostolic Era (corresponding chaps.). Essay (6) The Rome of Paul's Day. THE BIBLICAL WORLD (articles to be indicated).

May. Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age, Part V. The Apostolic Era (corresponding chaps.). Essay (7) Saul's Personal Experience as a Factor in his Theology. THE BIBLICAL WORLD (articles to be indicated).

June. Essays: (8) The Personal Characters of Peter, Paul, and John, as effecting their special work; (9) The Theology of Paul and John Compared; (10) The Christianity of the First Century.

The material in THE BIBLICAL WORLD will consist of analyses and introductions to the Acts and the different epistles, and articles of a general character appropriate to the topic of the month. It will be seen in the above arrangement that no *biblical* work (*i. e.* from the Bible itself) will be assigned for October. It is first necessary to get oneself into the spirit of the apostolic times by a study of the surroundings and conditions of life in that period.

Chapter Meetings.—It is believed that while the books and articles should be carefully read by each member of the Guild for himself, much interest can be added to the work by meetings for discussion of the readings. It is not necessary that these meetings should be conducted by a minister, or Bible teacher. They may be exceedingly informal, but the contact of mind with mind helps one to settle his own convictions, and stimulates thought on the part of all. Members are therefore urged to band themselves together in Chapters. Ministers would find an intelligent nucleus of listeners around which to group congregations, if a Chapter could be formed in every church.

The following topics for Chapter meetings in October are suggested:

1. Some original elements in Christianity.
2. The essential relation of Christianity to Judaism.
3. The extent and power of the Roman kingdom at the death of Jesus.
4. Some characteristics of the Roman law.
5. The influence of Greek and Roman culture on the spread of Christianity.
6. Motives and methods of travel and international intercourse.
7. Some facts concerning the dispersion of the Jews at the time of Christ.
8. Some characteristics of the Homeric theology.
9. Ideals of life as found in the classic Roman literature.
10. Sacrificial motives and customs of the classic heathen nations.
11. Greek and Roman notions concerning death and a future life.
12. The attitude of Judaism toward the pagan religions by which it was surrounded.
13. The daily life of the Jews compared with that of the Greeks and Romans.
14. The political government of Palestine in the time of Jesus.

The Chapter should be provided with a good map of Palestine and a map of the Roman Empire in Paul's day. Constant reference should be made to these maps when they can be of service in making clear any topic.

In selecting topics for a meeting, care should be taken to choose such as will make a harmonious and helpful group.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

Attention should be called to the new publications upon the list of books this year prescribed for the Reading Guild. Many who do not wish to read

the entire course will be glad to avail themselves of the *Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age* by Professor Ernest D. Burton, and also of the ten *American Institute Biblical Literature Essays*.

The first work contains an entire analytical outline of the Apostolic Age in seventy-nine sections, and the New Testament text itself in the revised version arranged and printed in full according to this outline; also an appendix, explaining and justifying this arrangement.

The essays, as will be seen from the titles, deal with special phases of the life and thought of the Apostolic Church and its environment. They can be obtained only through the Institute.

THE work which was begun in Australia last year is to be continued on a larger scale. Already material for two thousand students in the Club course has been ordered for the three colonies engaged in the work.

MANY in the Sunday Schools have become interested during the present quarter in Old Testament History. There are doubtless some among these who would like to take up the same subject in a more thorough manner. The Institute provides a correspondence course in that most interesting period from Samuel to Solomon. The method of work employed in this course is one which, once acquired, may be applied by the student to all historical study of the Old Testament, and will be invaluable to him.

THE "Institute" held at Howell, Mich., under the joint conduct of Mr. C. W. Votaw and Dr. Charles F. Kent, was a marked success. This Institute may properly be called a school, as it has continued for two years under the same instructors and already the third year has been announced, and the same teachers invited to return. The school is held under the auspices of the County S. S. Association and is largely attended by S. S. workers.

An "Institute" will be held in Ann Arbor October 5-9, under the auspices of the Bible chairs. The lecturers will be Professor Ernest D. Burton, and Rev. H. L. Willett, both of the University of Chicago.

The general themes will be, 1. The six generally accepted Epistles of Paul, by Professor Burton, and, 2. Old Testament History, by Mr. Willett.

The specific subjects will be as follows: 1. (a) Present Status of Criticism, (b) Study of first Thessalonians. 2. The Letter to the Galatians. 3. First Corinthians. 4. Second Corinthians. 5. The Letter to the Romans. 6. Philipians. 7. Testimony Respecting the Life of Christ. 8. Testimony Respecting the Life of Paul. 9. The Christianity of Paul.

From the Old Testament: 1. Abraham the Patriarch. 2. Moses and the Exodus. 3. Joshua and the Conquest. 4. Deborah and the Judges. 5. Samuel, Prophet and Reformer. 6. Saul and the Early Monarchy. 7. David, King and Psalmist.

Book Reviews.

Notes on Epistles of St. Paul from Unpublished Commentaries. By the late J. B. LIGHTFOOT, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. Published by the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895. Pp. ix + 336. Price, \$3.25.

One of the permanent regrets of New Testament students has been the incompleteness of Bishop Lightfoot's publications upon the New Testament books. In many respects the greatest biblical scholar of his own generation in England, and preëminently the defender of the conservative view of the New Testament history and literature, his works are regarded by Christians as nearly authoritative as the work of any single scholar can be. Yet, notwithstanding his great ability and influence, he actually published but four commentaries upon New Testament books, and those four were of the shorter Epistles of Paul, namely, upon Galatians, Philippians, Colossians and Philemon. His other great contribution to the study of Christianity was his exhaustive work in five volumes upon the Apostolic Fathers.

That he had in mind to do more in the way of commentary upon the New Testament books appears from the volume before us, in which there have been gathered up for publication the notes and material which would have formed the foundation for commentaries upon Paul's earlier and greater epistles. These notes contain the analysis and interpretation of the two epistles to the Thessalonians entire, the first seven chapters of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, the first seven chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, and the first fourteen verses of the Epistle to the Ephesians. Only the last named portion was given its present form by Bishop Lightfoot; his next published commentary, had he lived, would have been upon Ephesians, and he had completed his notes upon ch. 1:1-14, as we have them here. The notes upon the other epistles were only such as the author had used in his university lectures at Cambridge upon the Pauline writings, supplemented by the notes which certain of his students had taken down as his lectures were delivered. The editor of this volume, Mr. J. R. Harmer, had therefore a difficult task, but he "feels confident that the result may be accepted as representing with fair accuracy the Bishop's actual words," as he says in his introductory note.

In spite of this fragmentariness, and all the disadvantages which attended the publication of these notes, the volume containing them is by far the most valuable of those which have been published by the Trustees of the Lightfoot Fund since the renowned scholar's death. If one stops but for a moment to think how important are the chapters which are here commented on, the

volume will appear quite as important as any other of his works, and perhaps more important, since it partly covers so large and vital a portion of the New Testament. No text is presented, as that part of the work had not been done, but much study of the text is apparent in the notes. Of great interest and value are the long and special discussions upon the significant terms of the epistles. Two indexes, one of the Greek words discussed in the volume, the other of the subjects, contribute much to the use of the book. The small size of type used has made it possible to give a very great deal of matter within the compass of the 336 pages, and it is matter which no one studying the early Epistles of Paul can afford to pass by. The volume must be put upon the shelf for use beside the other works of Bishop Lightfoot, all of them of the highest and most permanent value.

C. W. V.

Life in Ancient Egypt, described by ADOLPH ERMAN, translated from the German by H. M. TIRARD. Macmillan & Co., London and New York, 1894.

Since 1837, when Sir Gardner Wilkinson published his *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, no attempt at a systematic study of the subject had been made, until the above book by Erman appeared (in 1885) in Germany.¹ Even the layman can form some idea of what a wealth of material Wilkinson has treated; to treat this vast mass of material in the light of most recent investigation was the Herculean task which Erman set for himself. Having already shown the existence of great periods sharply distinguished, in his grammatical work, it was natural that he should conduct these investigations on the same basis. In this work he was obliged to begin entirely upon his own resources, having no predecessors from whose work he might profit. Thus, while Wilkinson speaks, for example, of the costume of the *ancient Egyptian*, without any distinction of time, Erman speaks of the costume of the *old empire*, of the *middle empire* or of the *new empire*, as the case may be; for he has shown that a nobleman of the fourth dynasty appearing on the streets of Thebes in the time of Rameses II. (XIX dyn.) would, by his quaint and antique costume, excite as much comment as a courtier of Elisabeth upon our own streets. All the material treated is distinguished in the same way. Thus Erman's book becomes a history of culture in ancient Egypt, and as such introduces so much of the history itself, that it offers a complete survey of the entire Egyptian field.

Its appearance, owing to the fundamental character of many of the results presented, was epoch-making. One could not turn a half dozen pages without coming upon an important fact, which was new both to the Egyptologist and to the layman. Thus, that dim and distant period, the old empire

¹ *Aegypten und Aegyptisches Leben im Alterthum, geschildert von Adolph Erman, Tübingen, 1885.*

(dynasties IV. to VI.), which had always been a very uncertain quantity, now assumes for the first time a comprehensible form. This achievement can only be duly appreciated by one who knows of the intensely difficult character of the old empire texts, and the blindness of the long lists of titles which a nobleman attached to his name. It was no wonder that Eduard Meyer hailed the appearance of the book with delight. Though himself the foremost oriental historian of the time, he says (*Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, August 21, 1886): "According to the results of Erman, very much is to be corrected in the account of the Egyptian state, which I gave three years ago." And referring to the state in the old empire especially, he says: "This very peculiar, rigidly centralized functionary-state now stands before us in clear, definite outlines, forming the beginning of Egyptian history, and paralleled, if anywhere at all, only in China." We are not surprised, therefore, when Meyer's history of Egypt appears, to find that with the exception of the religion, it rests in all its essentials upon the results of Erman, a fact which is quite evident from Meyer's footnotes, where one finds over and over again, the remark: "For the first time correctly set forth by Erman."

The rigid exactness which Erman, for the first time, introduced into the translation of Egyptian texts, has never been better exemplified than in the work under discussion. The ordinary history of Egypt or any work containing translations from the texts, usually offers these texts *in toto*, distinguishing nowhere between the certain and the uncertain; an entire inscription will be given with confidence, offering the reader no hint that many lines are quite uncertain in meaning. Not so Erman, who omits altogether any lines that are really questionable, and marks with an interrogation point any phrase upon which there is a shadow of doubt. This is very grateful in contrast with the slipshod methods of wholesale translation which have prevailed since Champollion's time. It is a most intelligent protest against guesswork in a department of science, the more potent because of the large amount of translation in the book.

The translation from the German is very good English, but there is a tendency to make free with the original, which mars that impression of exactness in expression which one obtains from the original, and which is one of Erman's strongest points. It is a pity also that the work could not have been prefaced by some remarks which would give the English reader some idea of the place of the book in the history of Egyptian studies. In the majority of cases the English reader will never know that the bulk of the results presented are new altogether, and that they rest upon so comprehensive and safe induction, that they are entirely just. Could the reader know how many theories were suggested to Erman by his results, and which he has remorselessly rejected because they were as yet only theory, he would implicitly accept those facts which are presented as such.

Since this book has appeared in English it is no longer necessary to buy numerous, costly books upon Egypt. The minister, teacher or literary stu-

dent who desires a comprehensive library upon Egypt, which makes accessible to him the life, culture and chief historical facts of this wonderful people, will find it all in this one book. Still it must be borne in mind that Erman's book does not pretend to be a history of Egypt. For an adequate treatment of the history, as such, in English, we are alas still waiting¹; the reader of German possesses the admirable history of Meyer. In this day of numerous and, for the most part, worthless books upon Egypt, the reader may be glad to know, that at last a reliable and comprehensive work upon the subject is obtainable.

J. H. B.

The Book of Daniel—Expositor's Bible. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Westminster. New York : A. C. Armstrong & Son ; Chicago : American Baptist Publishing Society. 1895. Pages xii. + 334. Price \$1.50.

Since the days of Porphyry (233–303 A.D.), called by Augustine "the most learned of philosophers, but the most bitter enemy of Christianity," the genuineness and authenticity of Daniel have been challenged. The dawn of modern biblical criticism has injected new life into the old challenge, and we are today reaping abundant fruits of that enemy's sowing. But our enemy is often our best friend even in criticism. He finds the joints in our harness which must be closer drawn. He pierces our cruiser if not steeled with the latest and best armor. He drives us at last into a fortress which we *can* hold. This book of Daniel has been peculiarly vulnerable. Its uniqueness in language, style, thought and historical references have themselves challenged investigation. The search-lights of theory and criticism are turned on it with all their power. And the prism of induction has differentiated its component elements, while the animal imagery of its visions has given innocent employment to the curious and the fanciful.

Dr. Farrar has given us the last published study and exposition of this book. His work is divided in three parts, (1) introduction, covering 119 pages, (2) commentary on the historic section, 110 pages, (3) the prophetic section of the book, 106 pages. He lays his foundation and rears the frame of his structure in the introduction. He states his position at the outset, that the Book of Daniel, in its present form, first saw the light in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes (p. 1); "it is perhaps possible to fix the exact year and month in which the book saw the light—namely, about January B.C. 164." "Its six magnificent opening chapters were never meant to be regarded in any other light than that of moral and religious *Haggadoth*" (p. 2). The next six chapters "as in the Book of Enoch (xc. 15, 16) contain history written under the form of prophecy" (p. 71). The allusions in the book itself, in non-biblical sources and in the Talmud would not "suffice to prove Daniel's *historical* existence," (p. 8). In the Old Testament only one writer, Ezekiel, refers to Daniel. His allusions and his silences give reason for surprise (p. 8). It is entirely possible that Daniel was a real person (p. 37). The linguistic evi-

¹ The history of Petrie is still incomplete.

dence: late Hebrew, West-Aramaic, Persian and Greek words are overwhelmingly against the genuineness of the Book of Daniel (pp. 113, 114). The unity of the book (p. 24), not questioned before the dawn of criticism, is now conceded by most critics." "If the prophetic section (chaps. 7-12) is mainly devoted to Antiochus Epiphanes, the historic section seems to have an allusive bearing on his impious madness" (p. 26). "It may be said in general that the authenticity of the book is now rarely defended by any competent critic" (p. 27). In discussing the peculiarities of the historic section, the author says that those "*Haggadoth*, like the parables of Christ, convey their own lessons without depending on the necessity for accordance with historic fact" (p. 40). One is surprised and amazed at the severity of his words, dropped here and there, towards men who have, as honestly as himself, sought to find out the truth. He speaks of "the tortuous subterfuges and wild assertions to which such apologists as Hengstenberg, Keil and their followers were long compelled to have recourse" (p. 42). He finds the book full of historical errors in dates, names, numbers and allusions (pp. 113, 114). He gathers up fifteen points wherein some difficulty appears to his mind. The old evidence in favor of the genuineness of the book he decides is uncertain and inadequate (p. 88). External evidence there is none that the book existed before the second century (p. 114). Its positions, too, in the canon points out its late composition (p. 115). "It may then be said with confidence that the critical view has finally won the day" (p. 117).

The book displays prodigious industry in collection and collation of material. The author has made use of nearly all of the latest literature on the subject. In fact the names and titles of the "authorities consulted" cover four printed pages. But this vast amount of material has been neither digested nor organized. There are many evidences of haste and carelessness, such as unnecessary repetition between the introduction and the exposition, lack of condensation, and even wretchedly constructed sentences (pp. 117, 119). But above all else the method of treatment is the most surprising. The author lays down his norm and bends everything toward it. He scarcely recognizes one iota of good in his opponent's side, makes no effort at all to look at things from that viewpoint, and hurls his anathemas at the defender of a conservative position. "The uncharitableness of the apologist," so oft repeated, recoils on himself and his methods.

There is an astonishing lack of judicial, scholarly fairness in stating both sides of a question, weighing the evidence, and legitimately arriving at a conclusion. Arguments *e silentio* belong to his heavy artillery, and his infantry consists largely of uniformed assertions, some harmless and some armed. The attitude of the author, supported by an overweening confidence in the security of his defenses, will do little to answer the queries of the candid, judicial, truth-loving student. Flashes and dashes of rhetoric are captivating and entrancing to bright wits, but to take hold of the thinking mind, nothing counts like clear, fair, solid argument. The book adds little to our stock of information, and nothing to the reputation of its distinguished author. PRICE.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

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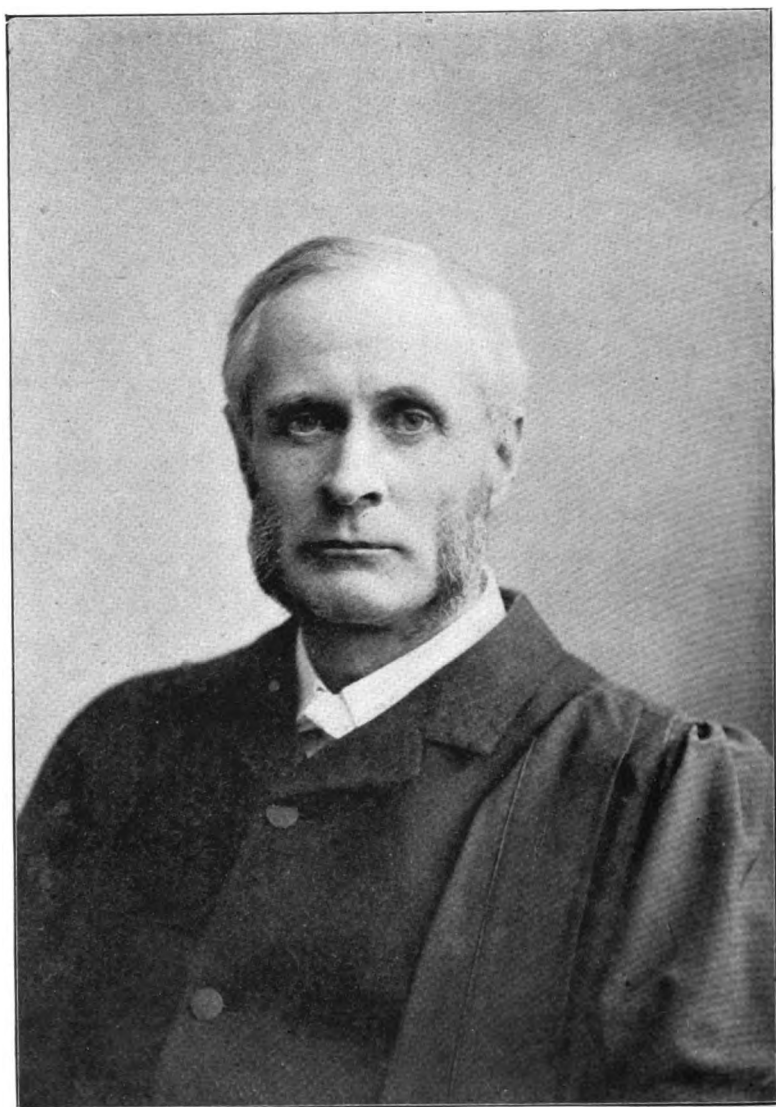
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DR. WM. SANDAY

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

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THE student of religion is confronted at the outset with a serious problem. He expects to be introduced into his investigations with a reasonably definite statement of the character of his subject. In other words he seeks in the beginning a definition of religion. This would seem to be essential, fundamental. But hardly any other word can be chosen for which there is a greater variety of definitions. No writer on the theme is willing to accept that of his predecessors but must needs make a new one. Professor Max Müller would have us believe that "Religion is a mental faculty or disposition, which, independent of, nay, in spite of sense and reason enables man to apprehend the Infinite." "Religion is a sense of infinite dependence," was Schleiermacher's statement. Principal Grant is willing to regard religion as "that faith in the unseen which is recognized as an essential part of man's constitution," while Professor Flint maintains that it "is man's belief in a Being, or beings, mightier than himself, and inaccessible to his senses, but not indifferent to his sentiments and actions, with the feelings and practices which flow from such belief." In Principal Caird's view it is of "the very essence of religion that the Infinite has ceased to be merely a far-off vision of spiritual attainment and ideal of indefinite future perfection and has become a present reality." A later view of Max Müller regards religion as consisting "in the perception of the Infinite under such manifestations as are able to influence the moral nature of

man." Kellogg in his *Genesis and Growth of Religion* after noting some of these definitions along with others and finding them wanting, declares that "Religion essentially consists in man's apprehension of his relation to an invisible Power or powers, able to influence his destiny, to which he is necessarily subject, together with the feelings, desires and actions, which this apprehension calls forth." Dr. Menzies has given the latest discussion of the point in his *History of Religion*¹ where he also criticizes the view of other scholars and presents his own verdict which is that "Religion is the worship of unseen powers from a sense of need." But the next critic will surely decline to cast out of the sphere of religion everything which is not worship of *unseen* powers. These powers must be "higher," he will perhaps admit, but they need not necessarily be "unseen." And so the unending search after the adequate definition will go on.

THE reason for these differences of opinion on the part of scholars whose knowledge of their subject is wide and accurate is hard to understand. With some it is doubtless owing to differing philosophical presuppositions; an *a priori* theory conditions the treatment. Others have theological views that narrow or broaden their conception of the field. Again, religious theory has been emphasized and practices overlooked, or *vice versa*. Religion has always had the power of stirring the deepest feelings of men's souls. Their attitudes toward it have been not only various, but maintained with tenacity and advocated with vehemence. May we not discover one cause of the variety of definition in the fact of the relation of religion to human life, individual and social, a relation which is at once fundamental and pervasive? It conditions all spheres of man's existence. It has its intellectual side where it seems to be all, and nothing but, thought, a faculty of the mind or the product of it. Yet the feelings are equally dominated by the religious sentiment, and, if anywhere religion has manifested itself in wondrous forms, the realm of the emotions is such a

¹ *History of Religion*, by Allan Menzies, D.D., pp. 6-11.

sphere. It moves to actions, wise and foolish, selfish and self-sacrificing, heroic and devilish. In one and all of these fields religion has its home, a deep, underlying force. No wonder that men have defined it in terms of intellect, emotion, or action, according as they have regarded either element as supreme.

BUT religion is also a social phenomenon and a definition must not be narrowed to the limits of the individual life. Gruppe has pointed out in the introductory pages of his *Greek Cults and Myths* the very significant fact that man has never desired to keep his religious light and truth to himself. It were possible that the one who feels himself possessed of new insight into the character of the "higher powers" and enjoying peculiar relations to them, might desire to preserve this insight for his own illumination or reserve these peculiar privileges to his own advantage. In fact, however, religion has always had a doctrine to *communicate*, something to teach to others. It is, therefore, a social force, an element of corporate humanity. Its promises have been wider than the individual. Its hopes have embraced communities. Its energies have revealed themselves in the larger realm of society. Thus its blessings and its baneful influences have been magnified an hundredfold. The way has been opened for the selfish dominance of a corrupt priesthood, as well as for the uplifting example of heroic devotion given by the missionary and the martyr. What has so deeply stirred the individual soul in all its capacities and energies, has had equal weight in the world of men, in the various fields of human history. There religion has entered as a permanent and decisive factor to such an extent that it is possible to write a universal history of mankind from the point of view of the religious element, while, on the other hand to know the history of religion in any nation, one must trace its presence in the national politics, language, art and literature. Of what other element of individual or social life can so much be affirmed?

THE SOCIAL
ASPECT OF
RELIGION

FROM the point of view now suggested the value of the study of universal religion may legitimately be urged. It is the study of the most profoundly influential element in history. In his recent valuable book on *The Religions of India* Professor Hopkins has summed up in detail the utility of the knowledge of that branch of the subject which he discusses. He asks and answers the question,¹ "In what . . . lies the importance of the study of Hindu religions?" We would do well to consider some of the details of his answer.

**WHY STUDY
NON-CHRISTIAN
RELIGIONS ?**

THE importance in the first place lies, he says, "in the revelation, which is made by this study, of the origin and growth of theistic ideas in one land; in the light these cast by analogy on the origin of such ideas elsewhere."

1. FOR ILLUMINATION

Man's thought about God, the highest and richest subject of man's thinking, is worthy of study wherever it appears; especially worthy in India where it grew through worship of nature in its varied aspects into higher spiritual forms, perhaps the noblest structure of human intellection ever reared by man apart from special divine revelation. Such was India's theism. So clearly do the steps of the process lie before us in the literary monuments of the Hindus that they enable us to read with greater certainty the more indefinite tracings of similar movements among other peoples.

ANOTHER element of value appears according to the author, "in the prodigious significance of the religious factor in the development of a race as exhibited in this instance; in the inspiring review of that development as it is seen through successive ages in the loftiest aspirations of a great people." The study of universal religion cannot but fill the student with faith in the essential reality of the religious life, with wonder at its tremendous power in society — moulding, transforming, destroying, recreating, — with reverence

2. FOR INSPIRATION

¹ Cf. *The Religions of India*, by E. W. Hopkins, Ph.D., pp. 564-565.

and adoration before the Creator and Sustainer and Inspirer of the spiritual nature of man. These sentiments are aroused and developed in no common measure in the review of the phenomena presented by India's religious history, when man has made religion the culmination of individual and social existence and in his pursuit of the highest good has risen so high.

THE writer proceeds a step further to find another element of value "finally in the lesson taught by the intellectual and religious fate of them among that people that have substituted, like the Brahman ritualist, form for spirit; like the Vedantist, ideas for ideals; like the sectary, emotion for morality. But greatest, if woeful, is the lesson taught by that phase of Buddhism, which has developed into Lamaism and its kindred cults. For here one learns how few are they that can endure to be wise, how inaccessible to the masses is the height on which sits the sage, how unpalatable to the vulgar is a religion without credulity." The warnings which universal religion delivers are not the least of its benefits. If we recognize that all history, besides that of the Hebrews, has its instructions which mankind must needs heed, so does all religion, besides that which is the guardian of a special revelation, convey lessons which are to be sympathetically and earnestly pondered. Ritualism and rationalism have not preyed on Christianity alone. They have undermined the religions of India also. Superficial playing upon the religious feelings has had its reward there as it surely will manifest its results here. The attempt to make religion dwell in one part of man's nature, to satisfy the human mind and starve the heart which cries out after the living God, to please the sense or to quiet the conscience by anything else than obedience to truth and righteousness—these things are not yet dead among us, and it is well that we can know from the religious history of this far away people the spiritual degeneracy, if not death, which lies that way.

8. FOR AD-
MONITION

WITH these positive benefits accruing from the study of this one group of religions, there is mentioned also what we may not expect to gain from their study: Their importance is "not, we venture to think, in their face value for the religious or philosophical life of the Occident." Some western student, whose religious life may have been early brought into contact with a narrow, crude and unlovely form of Christian thought and practice, has in his later studies been admitted into the broader sphere of Hindu speculation and religious mysticism. He has been entranced and inspired by the vision, and has gone forth to proclaim the superiority of the faith born on the banks of the Indus or the Ganges. The vision was a real one, but the inference was a delusion and the proclamation is a mockery. The doctrine which was abandoned was not the Gospel of Christ. The full-orbed truth which lay so near in the Bible and the spirit of the Christ is something far above and beyond the little segment, the scattered rays, from the southern sky. Christianity will give; it has no need to borrow. As Professor Fisher has said recently,¹ it "is the complement of the other religions. It supplies what they lack. It realizes what they vaguely aspire after. It takes up and assimilates whatever is good in them. In a word Christianity is the absolute religion."

ENOUGH has been presented to illustrate the proper sphere of the study of non-Christian religions. It is valuable for its demonstration of the divine presence in the heart of man and in the world, for the light it throws on the great questions of religious origins and of religious development, and for the instruction it affords respecting the outcome of tendencies in religion that are confined to no one people, tendencies from which Christianity is not free. Such studies, summed up under the comprehensive title of Comparative-Religion, are invigorating, illuminating, admonitory and inspirational. For the Christian thinker Com-

4. NOT TO
SUPERSEDE OR
IMPROVE THE
GOSPEL OF
CHRIST

COMPARATIVE
RELIGION NO
BUGBEAR

¹ In *The Outlook*, October 5, 1895.

parative-Religion has no terrors; rather it is full of rich fruit. To him, however, as Professor Fisher has said, "its proper fruit is not a patchwork of notions, a fabric of eclecticism, but a deeper perception of the fulfilment in Christianity of implied and often half-conscious prophecies." The only regrettable fact is that so few of our ministers and divinity students are awakened to its real importance.

THREE BIBLICAL SONNETS.¹

Arranged by PROFESSOR RICHARD G. MOULTON,
University of Chicago.

I.

THE SLUGGARD.

Go to the ant thou sluggard;
Consider her ways, and be wise:
Which having no chief,
Overseer,
Or ruler,
Provideth her meat in the summer,
And gathereth her food in the harvest.

How long wilt thou sleep, O sluggard?
When wilt thou arise out of thy sleep?
"Yet a little sleep,
A little slumber,
A little folding of the hands to sleep"—
So shall thy poverty come as a robber,
And thy want as an armed man!

Proverbs 6:6-10.

¹The limitation of the sonnet to fourteen lines (as is common in Italian and English sonnets) does not obtain in biblical poetry.—R. G. M.

II.

THE SLOTHFUL.

I went by the field of the slothful,
And by the vineyard of the man void of understanding,
And, lo, it was all grown over with thorns,
The face thereof was covered with nettles,
And the stone wall thereof was broken down.
Then I beheld,
And considered well:
I saw,
And received instruction.
"Yet a little sleep,
A little slumber,
A little folding of the hands to sleep"—
So shall thy poverty come as a robber,
And thy want as an armed man.

Proverbs 24: 30-34.

III.

THE FOOL.

Weep for the dead,
For light hath failed him;
And weep for a fool,
For understanding hath failed him.
Weep more sweetly for the dead,
Because he hath found rest;
But the life of the fool
Is worse than death.
Seven days are the days of mourning for the dead:
But for a fool and an ungodly man, all the days of his life

Ecclesiasticus 22: 11.

REV. WM. SANDAY, M.A., D.D., LL.D., LADY MARGARET PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY AND CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD.

By the REVEREND WILLIAM HORACE DAY.

ON THE tower of the Bodleian Library at Oxford is a large bas-relief of James the First giving the English Bible of 1611 to the world. Ever since the days of Wyclif the University has had an important part in translating and enlarging the knowledge of the Scriptures. Among the scholars doing this work today, Oxford has three prominent names: Professor Cheyne, author of the well-known commentaries on Isaiah and the Psalms; Professor Driver, who has recently published a work on Deuteronomy, the first in the "International Critical Commentary Series," and Professor Sanday, author of the Bampton Lectures on "Inspiration," and "Authorship and Historical Character of the Fourth Gospel." The life and work of Dr. Sanday are of particular interest at present because he has just published, with the assistance of A. C. Headlam, M.A., the volume upon Romans in the international series.

Professor Sanday was born in 1843, came up to Balliol College, Oxford at eighteen, was chosen fellow of Corpus Christi College in 1863, and two years later took a "first" in his examination for B.A. He was ordained in 1869. As vicar of Great Waltham and rector of Barton-on-the-Heath in Warwickshire his work as a scholar was coupled with a heavy burden of parish duties. When called to become the Principal of Bishop Hatfield's Hall in the University of Durham in 1876 he was thoroughly fitted for the work of instructing theological students because he knew the problems of a young clergyman's life. From Durham he came to Oxford as Dean Ireland's Professor of Exegesis, coupled during much of the time with the exacting routine of Tutorial Fellow of Exeter College, which he continued to hold till the present year when his election as Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity and Canon of Christ Church Cathedral sets

him free from his tutorial duties, and leaves him entirely at liberty to devote his time to his lectures and personal study. This appointment very fittingly recognizes his scholarship, and elevates him to one of the most important university professorships in England.

A keen intellectual mind, tempered by a knowledge of men and of the round of daily life, as well as an intense spiritual purpose have combined to make Professor Sanday a leader, whether in the lecture room, with a few fellow students in a seminar, or before the larger audience reached by his books. The extent of that influence is suggested by the variety of students who attend his courses. Last year the evangelical minister sat beside the Roman Catholic priest and the American Episcopalian clergyman. The Congregational student of Mansfield College and the Unitarian from Manchester College were there, as well as the ordinary undergraduate in his little black gown with its ribands hanging from the shoulders. Last, but by no means least, there is also to be seen at his lectures the less somber garb of women, for conservative old Oxford admits women to lectures and examinations—to everything in fact except the actual wearing of the gown and taking of the degree.

Professor Sanday is an exact and enthusiastic textual critic. Under his touch the dusty details of the study of various manuscripts comes to have a living interest. He once told the writer that the piece of work which had given him most satisfaction was his share in editing the Old Latin Biblical Texts, and, much in the spirit of an ancient Roman who had pushed back the barbarians and extended the frontier of the empire, he added, "I felt it was really original work which advanced the boundaries of knowledge." But his is a zeal not only for the mere letter but for the truth that can be discovered only through the more exact shade of thought expressed in a perfected text.

Could some of the old worthies of the past raise the heavy stone slabs which cover their graves in the floor of the Cathedral and again walk Oxford streets, they would no doubt be surprised at the external improvements which have altered the appearance of the academic city, but perhaps most of all to see the way in

which this society of scholarship, existing almost entirely for the cultivation of the scholarly spirit within itself, has been waking to its duty to the people outside its walls by establishing university extension and other measures for the development of popular culture. To those of us who know how some of our most thorough American scholars have utilized their exact knowledge in lectures for popular audiences it will be no surprise to know of the active interest which a man of Dr. Sanday's technical scholarship takes in this side of student life. He has been intimately associated with Principal Fairbairn in the past in making the Mansfield Summer School of Theology so successful. This summer he was an active promoter of the Oxford Summer School of Theology for the clergymen of the Church of England.

The fascinating historical interest attached to the architectural growth of Oxford appeals strongly to Dr. Sanday. Those of us who went with him one morning to the top of the Radclif Library will not soon forget the enthusiasm with which he traced the growth of the city from the Saxon mound near the river which was there when King Alfred was in Oxford. Then the Norman Keep near it, which continued the work of defending the river, the Cathedral in its development, the quarter inhabited by Jews, the growth of college and church buildings, were one by one made to tell the story of Oxford and of all England.

After attending his course on Romans, which contains much of the material put into his latest book, one could not help feeling a new inspiration for Bible study. The student realizes that a strong mind is leading the way; so cultivated that a strained or fanciful interpretation finds no place; so honest as to say "I do not know," or, "My own investigations have not been complete enough to enable me to do more than give you the results of another." He knows, too, that he is following a man with courage enough to change his mind, and with so strong a passion for the truth as to say "I was mistaken." But more than all else, one is impressed by the occasional glimpses of the spirit within. This spirit shows itself in the unfailing kindness and consideration which is so marked in all his relations to others. It appears in the flash of enthusiasm which shines out when some of the great Pauline con-

ceptions present themselves in the progress of the exegesis. To be taught by such a teacher gives a minister a new conception of his life work. The example of a student who has labored so persistently in the face of obstacles which would make most men give up special study, puts to shame the lack of energy which permits too many of us to slight courses of systematic investigation because of the pressure of daily duty.

One comes away from a course of Dr. Sanday's, feeling that even those who are most alarmed at the methods of modern Bible study would have no fear could they but know the deep spiritual life as well as the careful scholarship which dominate the mind and heart of this Oxford New Testament scholar,

WHY CALLEST THOU ME GOOD?

By BENJ. W. BACON, D.D.,
Oswego, N. Y.

Jesus' doctrine of the righteousness of God not an improved morality—Paul, not the Jerusalem Church, was right, in preaching faith, not ethics—The history of Jesus, answer to the young ruler, exhibits the Judaizing tendencies of the Palestinian church as reactionary, not merely conservative—Jesus disclaimed the title "good" as Paul disclaimed "a righteousness of mine own, even that of the law"—He claimed the divine attributes goodness, power, knowledge (to teach with authority) in the mystic sense, as acting for God through the implanted divine Spirit—This Pauline mysticism, appearing in Mark, confirmed the teaching of the fourth gospel.

THE question of the righteousness—something more than "sinlessness"—of Jesus is the oldest of Christian theology, and perhaps the furthest even now from settlement. To Paul, who certainly did not regard it as differing in kind from that required of every Christian, it meant one thing; to James something different. To the mediæval church it meant one thing, to the Reformers, if they were consistent as Paul was, it meant another. In the most recent years a distinguished American author and critic, writing on "The Gospel and its Earliest Interpretations,"¹ assures us that Jesus' doctrine of the righteousness of the kingdom of God, as distinguished from that of the scribes and Pharisees, made it simply "a righteousness of the heart" as against "a righteousness of the law" (p. 63), and that the saying (Matt. 5:20), was "directed against the hollow externality and legalism which then prevailed, and probably implied that the true righteousness of the kingdom consists in an inward, upright relation to the law spiritually apprehended" (p. 65). Paul's doctrine of "the righteousness which is from God upon faith," opposed to "the righteousness which is our own, even that which is by the works of the law" (Phil. 3:8 ff.) was, according to President Cone, a "transformation" of the teaching of Jesus.

¹ By President O. Cone. New York: Putnams, 1893.

To this we oppose the positive conviction that the righteousness of Jesus, both as regards his own personality and that which he required of those who would be of his kingdom, was essentially different from that of the scribes and Pharisees, and essentially identical with that which Paul sets forth in his great epistles. This conviction will not be defended by appeal to the fourth gospel, in which the teaching of Jesus is admittedly recast in the moulds of a theology built upon the system of Paul, but upon the words of Jesus as reported in the oldest of our gospels, after demonstration of their primitive character in comparison with the modification they have undergone in a later gospel at the hands of a school opposed to Paul.

The light to be gained from this enquiry should fall in two directions. It should give us, first, a new and priceless insight into the vital problem of Jesus' own Messianic self-consciousness, explaining how he could at once accept such tributes to his moral perfection as would explain the characterization of Paul: "Who knew no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth," and at the same time could reject the title "Good Master," on the ground that "There is none good but One, that is God," refusing thus to be exalted even in his highest Messianic attribute of moral perfection above the level of absolute humanity, and resting his claim of divinity where the fourth gospel rests it, in what on its human side is simply voluntary merging of our personality with the divine, and on the divine side is the mysterious but undeniable fact of the divine immanence.

Secondly, we may learn more clearly than hitherto what was the really distinctive feature that made the gospel of Jesus a new revelation comparable to the creative light shining out of darkness, not only to Paul (Rom. 7: 24 f.; 2 Cor. 4: 6; cf. Tit. 3: 4-7 a "faithful saying"), but to all the church, except a reactionary minority. The distinction which President Cone seeks to draw between "a righteousness of the heart," as that of Jesus and of the Sermon on the Mount, over against a righteousness of the law; an "inward, upright relation to the law spiritually apprehended," over against a "hollow externality and legalism," is unjust both to Jesus and to his predecessors. The prophets cer-

tainly were not blind to this distinction, nor can we see in it any adequate ground for that great chasm by which Jesus separated his gospel from the preaching of John the Baptist, as if the latter belonged still to the age of "the law and the prophets," though greatest of them all; while he that was least in the new kingdom was greater than he. If the new gospel simply presented a more "inward, upright relation to the law spiritually apprehended," it can scarcely be distinguished at all from the teaching of John, as given in Luke 3:7-14. Moreover, the shades of difference between the ethical standard of John, as here given—historically, as we have every reason to think—and that found, both in the best contemporary literature, as, *e. g.*, the *Psalms of Solomon*, and in the prophetic, are almost indistinguishable. Again, if we look forward from this ethical standpoint toward that of the Sermon on the Mount, comparing by the way some of the golden teachings of Hillel, some of the New Testament examples of men that "waited for the kingdom of God," scribes who declared the law of love to be "much more than all whole burnt-offering and sacrifice," and Talmudic teachings which repudiate as hypocrisy the forms of pharisaism denounced in the gospels, and declare the only true Pharisee to be he who serves God neither through fear of punishment nor hope of reward, but "from love of his Father in Heaven," we shall find it less easy than is commonly imagined to draw broad lines of demarkation between Jesus as a teacher of pure morality and some of his predecessors and contemporaries.

The more we learn of the ethical teaching of the age, the more difficult does it become to define any essential difference in requirement between the righteousness of the kingdom of God preached by Jesus, and the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees which he denounced. The task of belittling and detracting from the real beauty and greatness of other and older ethical systems and ideals for the sake of magnifying to the utmost the acknowledged superiority of the ethics of Christ is one for which we have no liking, nor is it apparent why we need feel reluctance to concede, if necessary, that in the sphere of ethics, which is simply the science of human conduct, other and

earlier teachers might have enunciated principles and rules as perfect as those of Jesus. The radical distinction which made him the conscious bearer of epoch-making glad tidings lies elsewhere.

What is unmistakably apparent from the entire gospel story is this: That Jesus was the conscious possessor of a revelation destined to mark a new era in the world's history, and that the essence of this revelation was the knowledge of the "righteousness of God," as consisting of the free gift of his spirit. As opposed to the ethical morality of the "scribes and Pharisees" that of Jesus was religious and mystical, resting ultimately upon the fundamental mystery of religion, the relation of the human to the divine personality.

If we are restricted for our conception of his doctrine to the view adopted in the Jerusalem church, and by James the Lord's brother, we must assume that this tremendous, epoch-making idea was simply such a shade of advance upon the ethical standard then in vogue as is marked, *e. g.*, in the change of the Golden Rule from the negative form of Hillel to the affirmative, and must then go on searching with ever dwindling success for something to differentiate the Christian moral standard from the best that preceded. The fact that one evangelist (Luke 10:27) places this same synopsis of the "whole duty of man" in the mouth of "a certain lawyer," while another (Mark 12:29-31) attributes it to Jesus, goes to show that the gospel writers were not greatly concerned as to who had the credit of enunciating the most perfect rule of life.

If, on the other hand, we are permitted to think that Paul's conception of his Master's teaching was in closer harmony with Jesus' real thought than that of the Judaizers, we shall understand at once how the "righteousness of God" preached by Jesus was a fundamentally different thing from the "righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees," an epoch-making revelation in the religious history of the world, even though its definition of right conduct, its ethical standard, a purely scientific question, might not differ at all from that preached by contemporary or earlier reformers. To Paul also the righteousness of God made known

in the gospel lies not in the sphere of ethics, but of religion. It is not essentially a better *system of conduct*, but the divinely-given *means of attaining* a moral ideal already given, the objection to which was not its imperfection, although it had not till now received its highest expression, but its impracticability. The gospel was the proof of the possibility "with God" of that which "with men is impossible."

According to Paul the attempt to live up to the moral standard of the law is foredoomed to failure on account of the inherent weakness of the flesh. The light of the knowledge of the glory of God which has shined in our hearts in the face of Jesus Christ, as when the light of the creative day shone out of the darkness of chaos, is the revelation of a "spirit of adoption" given by God upon the prayer of faith, which wars against the law of sin in our members, until, overcoming it at length, we find ourselves the children of God, heirs of his nature and joint-heirs with Jesus Christ. This new spirit or disposition is a "gift of righteousness," graciously bestowed by God. He who has received it finds that the impulse of the carnal nature is now overruled by the stronger impulse of the implanted divine nature of love, so that "there is, therefore, now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, since they walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit. The "law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus" makes them "free from the law of sin and of death," so that the very requirement of the law, which through the weakness of the flesh was formerly found unattainable, is now "fulfilled in them."

If the objection be raised that this doctrine of salvation by pure grace takes away from man his moral responsibility, in that it first makes his unrighteousness inevitable, and afterwards, upon his regeneration, substitutes for his own action the action of a spirit that is not his own, but implanted from above, Paul answers to the first by a doctrine (of Rabbinic origin) of federal headship in Adam, our common condemnation being a just penalty for the sin in which all participated, not merely in the loins of their fathers, but also individually, by conscious rebellion against the still present "law of the mind." But this federal

headship in the fleshly Adam is more than counterbalanced by that in the preëxistent spiritual Adam, *i. e.*, Christ. To the second he replies, that the coöperation of the divine will and the human is of necessity an inscrutable mystery, since God is absolute, and at the same time man is consciously a free agent. Therefore sanctification is a joint process, we must "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling, *because* it is God that worketh in us even to *will*, as well as to do of his good pleasure." In the benediction by which a disciple of Paul entreats this grace of the spirit upon his hearers, the God of peace is besought to "make them perfect in every good work, *working in them* that which is well pleasing in his sight, through Jesus Christ."

While the doctrines of federal headship in the first and second Adam are of course derived from the Rabbinic schools, rather than Christian teaching, it is obvious that the Pauline conception of the gospel makes it preëminently religious, rather than ethical. This was the vital, essentially Christian element in Paul's teaching, of more than temporary validity. The moral standard in his gospel is simplified and elevated, but it is not essentially different as a rule of conduct from that of the law and the prophets. The creative new light is the revelation of a gift of God by which the unattainable is now made easy. It is still "the righteousness of the law" which is the ideal aimed at, only now it is "fulfilled in us," who "walk not after the flesh but after the spirit." God gives his own divine nature of love, his spirit of holiness, goodness, purity, unselfishness, truth, to become an indistinguishable part of our human nature. This new nature becomes then the source, the root, the spring, from which will naturally come forth in ever-growing measure the required moral perfection. This is certainly what to Paul makes Jesus the "second Adam" in whom ruined humanity achieve the ideal of the Creator. Rightly or wrongly Paul regarded this gift of grace as *the* revelation of Jesus κατ' ἐξοχήν, and his preaching a purer, more heartfelt, more spiritual moral standard was to Paul a matter of at least very subordinate importance.

Granting now that Paul in his doctrine of justification by faith alone stood strongly opposed to the mass of the Jerusalem

church, which we must admit found in the teaching of the Master little more than this improved moral standard—admitting that if Paul was the truer of the two to the actual teaching of Jesus, he has given a more forensic *color* to the doctrine of “the righteousness of God,” in adapting it to the needs of his polemic against the Judaizers, we are concerned to show that in spite of this inevitable result of the theological struggle the more historically accurate of the two representations is Paul’s, which makes the teaching of Jesus primarily *religious*; rather than that of the reactionary Jerusalem church, which made it primarily *ethical*. No better evidence can be asked in support of this thesis than the incident related in all three of the synoptic gospels, of the young ruler who came running to Jesus saying: “Good Master, what shall I do that I may inherit eternal life?” It is natural that President Cone, who repudiates the idea that Jesus could have taught anything like the religious mysticism of the fourth gospel, and regards him from the Nicodemus standpoint as merely the teacher of an improved morality, should say as to this incident, that he knows of no satisfactory explanation.

As to the origin and mutual relation of the synoptic gospels we are substantially agreed with President Cone. In the nature of the case the material of which they are composed was first transmitted through the un-Pauline medium of the Jerusalem Church. In this instance the proof is abundant that the earliest form of the story is that of Mark, upon which both Luke and “Matthew”^{*} are based, the former departing but very slightly from his copy, the latter independent of Luke, and introducing certain changes which radically transform the meaning, and are highly significant of the medium out of which this Judaized form of the primitive tradition has come down to us. In Mark we have undeniably the Petrine tradition, which, if it departed in either direction from strict accuracy, would incline rather toward James of Jerusalem than toward Paul.

Luke’s version, which is admittedly taken from Mark and almost verbatim, we may leave out of account. It shows no

^{*} Our gospel is an enlarged and rewritten Greek version of the little compilation of *λογια* by the apostle.

tendency whatever. In Matthew we find the following striking differences, which it is easy to prove are not the variations of an independent version, but at least in part, are intentional alterations due to doctrinal presuppositions, and prove the progressive reaction of the Jerusalem Church toward pharisaism and away from the "Pauline" mysticism—if the anachronism may be permitted—of Jesus.

Beginning with the preceding context, Mark 10: 13-16, the story of the blessing of the babes, and noting that the order of events in both gospels is the same, we find, as a first difference, that Matthew (19: 13-15) substitutes "lay his hands on them and pray," for Mark's "touch them." The reverse process is improbable. Next the statement of Mark 10: 14 that Jesus "was angry" (*ἠγανάκτησε*, from the verb whose physical sense according to Liddell and Scott is "to be violently irritated") is omitted, as in Luke. The reverse process is here insupposable; the motive too is sufficiently apparent even without the corroborative evidence of Mark 3: 5 which is similarly treated by the later evangelists. The next difference is Matthew's habitual change of "kingdom of God" to "kingdom of heaven" out of reverence to the divine name; another intentional change certainly on Matthew's side. The only other difference of note in Matthew's version of this incident is the absence of Mark 10: 15, already given by him in 18: 3, and the omission of "he took them in his arms and blessed them" from Mark 10: 16, whereby, as in vs. 13, Jesus' attitude is made more reserved and dignified.

Passing to the story of the rich young man, we meet at the outset the most striking of all the differences. Instead of Mark's "Good Master, what shall I do that I may have eternal life?" followed by Jesus' protest: "Why callest thou me 'good'?" None is 'good' save one, even God," Matthew has: "Master, what *good thing*," etc., followed by the reply: "Why *askest* thou me *concerning that which is good*?" But this is followed immediately, as in Mark, by "One there is who is good," a clause which has no pertinence in the absence of the epithet "good" *applied to Jesus*, and which thus proves that the change removing Jesus' seeming disclaimer of "goodness," so incomprehensible

to this evangelist, was on Matthew's side. That the motive here was the avoidance of a doctrinal difficulty is too apparent to require further proof. But for completeness' sake observe that the tenth "commandment" is restored in Matthew from Mark's very free rendering to the exact Old Testament form, a characteristic piece of reactionary conservatism, and that in the succeeding context Mark's "hard saying" about receiving "a hundredfold, *now in this time, houses and brethren and sisters and mothers and children and lands, with persecutions*, and in the world to come eternal life," is emptied of all difficulty, as well as of some of its deepest significance, by the omission of the words printed in italic.

When we remember the impossibility, from the extent of verbal identity, here and elsewhere, of maintaining the independence of Matthew and Mark, it becomes a matter of practical certainty in view of such a series as this, that the dependence is on the side of Matthew, and that the differences are largely due to intentional change based on dogmatic considerations.¹ The significance of those which affect the story of the young nobleman, some of which I have yet to speak of, will not be fully apparent till we have ascertained the sense of the incident as narrated by Mark in its primitive form, and compared this with the very different sense conveyed by Matthew's version.

There is a superficial appearance in this story as if Jesus had fully coincided with the young man's point of view. He belonged to that class of Pharisees described in the Talmud as "going from teacher to teacher asking some new precept to observe," but in the obvious sincerity of his desire to "fulfil all righteousness" he is much better exemplified in Saul of Tarsus, engaged heart and soul "in all good conscience" in the effort to

¹The argument is not affected even if the now generally admitted priority of Mark be denied. Even were the version of Matt. 19 : 13-30 not derived from Mark 10 : 13-31 directly, but through some common source employed by both evangelists, it would be manifest that the variations of Matthew are all explicable as alterations from the form shown in Mark to avoid difficulties, some being inexplicable in any other way; those of Mark, on the contrary could never have been substituted for the form shown in Matthew, and are unaccountable save on the assumption of their genuineness.

be "justified by the works of the law," "as touching the law a Pharisee; as touching zeal persecuting the Church"—wherein he "verily thought he did God's service;"—"as touching the righteousness which is in the law, found blameless." The young man whom Jesus "looked upon and loved" is engaged in precisely the same effort which Paul found so agonizingly hopeless: to "fulfil *all* righteousness," "planting a hedge about the law," observing every requirement which could be suggested, even beyond its express provisions that he might thus "inherit eternal life." Passing over the paradoxical disclaimer of the epithet "good," Jesus' reply to the request for a new requirement, whose fulfilment should give assurance of eternal life, *seems* to be exactly in line with the request. "One thing thou lackest: go, sell whatsoever thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me."

Certainly the surface sense of this reply cannot be harmonized with Paul's conception of the gospel. If the apparent meaning here was actually the teaching of Jesus, the Judaizers were right. Jesus was then merely one more of the scribes who "sit in Moses' seat binding heavy burdens and grievous to be borne," prescribing to the devout Pharisee some additional and more perfect ethical requirement, whereby one might inherit eternal life. He was then the very ideal and crown of pharisaism. Paul's Gospel could scarcely be called even a "transformation" of this, it is so radically opposed to it. If this was the Christianity of Christ, Paul was converted to something the exact opposite of what he supposed. The very foundation of Paul's Christianity was the utter collapse of this whole pharisaic system of merit with God, in an overwhelming *reductio ad absurdum*, cf. Rom. chap. 7; Gal. 2:15-21. And this collapse of pharisaism was for Paul the revelation of Christ. His answer to the suggestion that an observance of the commandments coupled with unlimited almsgiving might entitle to eternal life we have: "And if I give all my goods to feed the poor, and give my body to be burned, but have not charity—the divine spirit of love—it is nothing!"

Is it possible, then, to assume that the surface meaning of this "new commandment" of Jesus—unlimited almsgiving—is the real one? Not even the semi-Judaistic Matthew thinks it possible to take over the teaching in so bold a form. He must at least pay to Paul the tribute of inserting the law of love among the commandments which the young Pharisee has observed from his youth; Matt. 19:9; *cf.* Mark 10:19; James 2:8. But after, this is done he has no hesitation in maintaining that all that Jesus required further for "perfection" ("if thou wouldst be perfect," Matt. 19:21; *cf.* Mark), was to "give all his goods to feed the poor." This was the distinctive feature of the Jerusalem church. Its Christianity was pharisean; its exaltation of unlimited almsgiving as the crown of all virtues stamps all its literature, and its exaggerated esteem for poverty obtained for it in its later history as a heretical sect the epithet Ebionite; *cf.* Acts 4:32-37; Gal. 2:10; James 2:1-9, 14-17; 5:1-6. With these "amendments" Matthew takes over Mark's account of what Jesus required of the rich young man as a *bona fide* statement of what entitles a man to eternal life. A scrutiny of the original from which this quasi-Ebionite version of the story is derived will show, on the contrary, that the saying of Jesus was intended to work as complete a *reductio ad absurdum* in the young man's mind as was later accomplished in the mind of Paul. To this end it is necessary to return to Jesus' first utterance, so grievously distorted in Matthew, concerning his own "goodness."

Why should Jesus begin his reply to such a vital question as that of the young Pharisee with such an apparently trivial objection as his criticism of the epithet "good" applied to himself? Why *not* call him "Good Master"? The answer can only be that, in the sense the Pharisee would give the word, Jesus did not wish to be considered "good," and that the difference in their conceptions of "goodness" was of fundamental significance. To the Pharisee a man who "as touching the righteousness which is in the law" was "found blameless," and who both by precept and example had set forth the duty of absolute self-renunciation for the kingdom of God's sake, was "good," and was thus entitled by merit to "eternal life." He comes running and kneeling

to Jesus because convinced that Jesus is in this sense "good." But to Jesus the man who had done all this is nothing of the kind. He is "an unprofitable servant, who has done that which it was his duty to do." He, Jesus, in his own view, had done nothing to merit reward, nor did he even deserve to be called "good" in the pharisean sense, *i. e.*, "possessed of accumulated merit." On the contrary, whatever goodness he has is due simply to the grace of God, the indwelling divine Spirit which impels him to thus act. There is none "good" but One, that is, God. To find the exact parallel of this remarkable disclosure of "goodness" on Jesus' part there is none other to whom we can turn than just the man who is supposed to have "transformed" the teaching of Jesus on this score. Paul had been, "as touching the righteousness of the law, found blameless," but had gladly "counted all this but refuse," that he might . . . "be found in Christ, *not having a righteousness of mine own*, even that which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God by (Greek '*upon*') *faith*." "It is thus, "if by any means," that Paul would "attain unto the resurrection from the dead."

Wherein now does this religious mysticism of Paul, more fully developed in the "Johannine" theology, differ from the teaching of Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount, concerning the "righteousness of God?" This, while it far "exceeds that of the scribes and Pharisees," and supersedes "all the law and the prophets," yet leaves not one jot or tittle unfulfilled. It is nevertheless of a totally different nature. It is to be "sought" by asking of the Father, who "delighteth to give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him," and men thus become "children of the Highest, because He is good even to the unthankful and the evil." The possession of this new implanted Spirit of the Father goes beneath the very roots of the selfish nature. It "makes the tree good," and thus obtains by spontaneous action the "good fruit."

If this adoption into a divine sonship by the descent and indwelling of the divine Spirit is not the essential thing in the teaching of Jesus, differentiating it immeasurably from the best of reformed moral standards, whether in that or previous times,

what is? What entitles it to be called a "gospel?" Why should the baptism of John be distinguished from it as only "with water," whereas this is "with the Holy Ghost"?

We derive, then, from our interpretation of this pregnant story of the young nobleman, first, Jesus' definition of his own "goodness." It is not, any more than that of Paul, the righteousness which is of the law, even though, according to that, he were "found blameless;" but "that which is given by God upon faith." And here we come upon the profound significance of this story from the earliest of our gospels to the doctrine of the person of Christ, an insight into his own Messianic self-consciousness which corroborates the essential teaching of Paul and of the Johannine school as to his teaching regarding his own divinity. What Paul gives as the very kernel of "the ministry of reconciliation, how that God was in Christ," what the fourth gospel reiterates again and again as the very essence of Jesus' teaching, how that the finite humanity which he shares with us is so capable of sublimation by self-merging in the Spirit of God "that they also may be in the Father as Christ was in the Father and the Father in him"—this is the implication and presupposition of Jesus' doctrine of "the righteousness of God" as here applied to himself. It is the justification of both the Pauline and the Johannine mysticism. For Jesus' disclaimer of "goodness" in his own right, is simply the parallel to his disclaimer in this same earliest gospel of all divine attributes, all Messianic qualifications, except as by complete self-surrender, he has made himself the vehicle for the divine power, wisdom and goodness. In accepting the greatness divinely "thrust upon" him, his choice of Messianic titles was that which most completely expresses the utter dependence, weakness, helplessness of humanity over against God: "the Son of Man." The entire record of his exaltation is simply that he "humbled himself" utterly before God. He would be Messiah only "to minister," not to be ministered unto." The greater the claims he makes for God in him as type and representative of the race, the more complete is his own self-obliteration.

It is thus also with his claims of power. Of himself he can do nothing. When the demoniac healed is bidden to go home and tell his friends, he is to tell, not what Jesus has done, but "what the Lord (*i. e.*, God; see Luke) hath done for thee." When sufferers seek aid, they are bidden to "have faith in God," whose power cannot be limited. Conversely he is not disconcerted when, as in Nazareth, "he could do no mighty work." He never claimed that *he* had power. God had it, and if it were not forthcoming, it was due to the "unbelief" of those that sought it.

So also of his Messianic teaching with authority, and divine wisdom. He teaches that which the divine voice clearly speaks to the heart and conscience of humanity, what "the light that is in thee" reveals.

So of his "goodness." "There is none good but One, that is God." He does not pretend to be "good;" he is conscious of an indwelling Spirit of the Father, which has descended to abide upon him with the assurance: "Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased." To be a "son of the Highest" by living in this Spirit of the Father is all the "goodness" he knows. But if the scribe or Pharisee ask what can be done to merit eternal life by fulfilling all righteousness, he can only point to the fruits "the righteousness of God" has borne. He himself and these followers with him have left all, house and brethren, sisters and mother (is there no personal remembrance in this?) fathers, children and lands for the gospel's sake. This they have been prompted to do simply by the Spirit of the Father in them, and feel that already they are reaping a hundredfold, while for the future they have in this same Spirit a pledge of the coveted "eternal life." If, then, one who represents the "righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees" asks: What lack I yet? from the standpoint of comparative meritoriousness, Jesus can only point to the examples present of the fruits of the Spirit and suggest: "By this much thy righteousness has fallen short of that given by God. Thou hast not yet forsaken all and entered the way of Calvary." The hope for this young man is that when he has tried in his righteousness *without* God to equal

that thus exemplified, he will find as Paul did that it is "impossible;" and thereupon, grasping the divine gift of a new spirit, will find that "*with* God all things are possible."

Secondly, this interpretation of Jesus' definition of "goodness" makes the gospel to every man in reality "glad tidings" of grace and truth instead of a mere improved science of ethics. The religious mysticism which the above interpretation implies in the teaching of Jesus is indeed wanting from the portrait drawn in Matthew's version. In the church presided over in the year 61 by James the Lord's brother, surnamed by the Jews for his legalistic piety, "the just," *i. e.*, devout, there was a very different conception of the gospel. James himself, speaking in the year 61 A.D., describes the adherents of that church as "many myriads from among the Jews, all zealous for the law." They felt far more hostility to Paul than their neighbor Jews did to them. To them Jesus doctrinally had simply put the crown upon pharisaism, establishing its teaching of "eternal life;" extending its moral standard by a completed "hedge of the law," wherein almsgiving and the law of love were the chief new features; justifying and uplifting its Messianic hopes and its eschatological expectations. This Palestinian branch of the vine ultimately became in part reabsorbed into Judaism, as from its nature we should expect; in part it degenerated into a mere heretical sect, denying (as we might also have expected) the divinity of Christ, and laying all stress upon the ethics of socialism, and the inequalities of wealth. Not abiding in the vine it was cast forth as a branch and withered. Does this Judaistic-Ebionite element of the primitive church represent then the historic teaching of Jesus? Or is it represented rather by an element whose first great leader fell a martyr to the persecuting zeal of Pharisean zealots, because he maintained that Jesus had taught of a new, universal temple superseding that "holy place," and a new righteousness which should "change the customs Moses delivered unto us?" At least the Gospel of Paul, the second great leader of this school, so far as it came to him from human lips at all, came through Stephen and the men who had *thus* understood Jesus. It was not received from certain

"super-eminent apostles" whom as persecutor he had not thought worthy of notice, though knowing they were in Jerusalem (Gal. 1:17) even while he journeyed to Damascus in pursuit of the Hellenists.

To our apprehension the incident of Mark 10:17-22 is of no small importance to show what Jesus meant by "the righteousness of God," both in himself, and in as many as with him should become "partakers of the divine nature." In the contrast which the "amendments" of Matthew present to this version we have the evidence that the Judaizers were really, as Paul maintained, reactionaries, unconsciously, or perhaps in some cases even consciously (see Gal. 6:12) disloyal to the fundamentals of Christ's gospel; not merely that they felt unable to follow Paul into a necessary "transformation" of the earlier doctrine. When the critical relation of the two versions of this story in Mark and Matthew can be reversed, and Mark's shown to be derived from Matthew's, and not *vice versa*, it may be possible to maintain that Paul was the innovator, and "they of James" the true conservatives. Until then "the gospel of Jesus the Christ the Son of God" must be understood to have been fundamentally and essentially, that which is developed into a philosophic system, and to some extent adapted to new conditions, in the theology of Paul. This reversal, it is safe to say, will not be obtained until every canon now known to the "higher criticism" for determining which of two interdependent accounts is the older, has been proved to be false or futile.

After Paul the leadership in the Hellenistic school of Christianity passed to Ephesus and the great theologians who have given us the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Johannine literature with its doctrine of the Λόγος. It was not long ere this view had established itself everywhere as the only orthodox Christianity in a supremacy that today is stronger than ever.

We need hardly add that the great current of the Johannine gospel tradition, which toward the close of the century comes to take up and carry along with it the Pauline doctrine, however small we make the actual written contributions of the apostle John thereto, is nevertheless a witness of inestimable value to

the fact that this mystical and religious interpretation of the doctrines of "the righteousness of God," divine sonship and the Messiahship was at least a vital part of the historic teaching of Jesus.

WHAT HIGHER CRITICISM IS NOT.

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WHEN a Protestant uses the term "Catholic" as if it were synonymous with Roman Catholic; when a Presbyterian or a Baptist or a Methodist speaks of "the Church" as if the term denoted especially the Episcopalian Church; when religious men talk of the respective claims of science and of theology as if science were exclusive of theology; in each case, the person so using language verbally gives away his own position, in favor of his opponent. He intends no concession. He merely means to save time by using a briefer expression. But, verbally, he concedes the whole point at issue; and practically the concession has a genuine and important influence over many minds.

* The same is true when one uses the terms "higher criticism," "the higher critics," as a mere descriptive phrase, or a phrase of opprobrium, in speaking of the views in regard to the Bible which he himself disapproves. In doing this he concedes, verbally, that the doctrines he opposes are the genuine product of genuinely scientific processes, and are therefore probably true. He does not intend this concession, but he actually makes it; and as the age is fully convinced of the validity of scientific processes, his concession has more effect than all the arguments he can adduce on the opposite side. Supposing the new views of the Bible to be from Satan, Satan must be remarkably well pleased at having them met, not by study and argument, but by a spiteful sounding misuse of the terms that describe them.

Higher criticism as a process is, of course, the scientific search after the truth in regard to the literary structure and peculiarities and the authorship of writings. The men who advocate what some of us regard as destructive views concerning the Old Testament necessarily consider themselves as genuine higher critics, and the results they have reached as preëminently the higher criticism of the Old Testament. Their opponents cannot afford to admit the truth of this claim. They are higher critics, but

not the only higher critics. Their studies are attempts in higher criticism, but to admit that these attempts have been so successful as to deserve to be called the higher criticism is to admit that the results they have reached are true.

This is commonplace. No one disputes it. But there are plenty of public speakers and public prints that will give these definitions with perfect clearness, and then proceed to discuss the questions involved as if the definitions were not true, as if higher criticism were simply the criticism that attacks the received views concerning the Bible. This, then, is constantly the first statement to make as to what the higher criticism is not. It is not any one particular school of higher criticism. The term is a name applied to a department of science, or, from another point of view, to a scientific process, and not exclusively to any one set of investigations or conclusions in that department. This statement is trite as trite can be, but it needs to be repeated yet a thousand times, and insisted upon till men heed it.

In what more I have to say, I shall limit the subject. There is now prevalent a certain generic form of the higher criticism of the Old Testament, a form which exists with a good deal of specific variation, but with a general similarity of processes and results. Without taking the trouble to define it more particularly, let us note, in a few incomplete specifications, what this form of higher criticism is not.

First, it is not the final higher criticism of the Old Testament. Few of its advocates would claim that it is. Most of them recognize the fact that it is inchoate, transitional, incomplete. Many of its particular processes and results are yet tentative, some of its laws being yet unestablished, and many of its criteria uncertain. Personally, I should go very far in denying its validity, at many points. It is an attack on traditionalism, but it has retained as its own basis most of the weaker elements of the traditional view. To a vicious extent it rejects testimony in favor of conjecture. It pours deserved contempt on the excessive use of processes of harmonization in the traditional treatments, but in its own treatments makes a far more excessive use of baseless harmonizing processes. It treats living tissues as if

they were dead matter, to a great extent ignoring all elements that are not purely mechanical in the speech and conduct of the writers of the Old Testament and the persons mentioned therein. I have no doubt the final higher criticism of the Old Testament will assign extreme antiquity to the little poems quoted in Genesis; or that it will regard the contents of the Hexateuch as so far belonging to the times of Moses and Joshua as to justify the ancient tradition attributing its authorship to these two men, provided that tradition be correctly understood; or that it will regard David and his contemporaries as the great psalm writers of Israel. I say these things here, not for the purpose of obtruding my opinions, but to make definite the point of view from which the things that follow in this article are said. There are plenty of scholarly men who place a much higher estimate than I do upon the work done and the results reached by the prevailing schools of higher criticism; but I think that no one will dispute the proposition that our present higher criticism is far from final.

In the second place, our prevalent type of higher criticism is not a merely shallow, transitory, impertinent, flippant playing with a great subject. Engaged in it are men of all types of intellectual and religious character. It is likely enough that some of them may have had unworthy motives. In what movement are men uniformly free from unworthy motives? But this field compares well with other fields of investigation in the amount and quality of reverent study, of painstaking industry, that have been expended in it by men of ability and insight and devotion to the truth. Many of the results reached are permanent and valuable. If the clergymen who are most uncompromisingly opposed to the prevalent type of higher criticism will take the trouble to compare the helps to Bible study they now use, and the Bible articles they themselves now write, with those which they used or wrote twenty years ago, most of them will appreciate the fact that they have learned much in twenty years, and that they have learned it largely from their opponents. The higher criticism of the future will accept the doctrine that the Hexateuch is a unit. It will accept a large part of the current

classification of the literary phenomena of the six books, though I think it will account for them by better hypotheses than those now in vogue, and will certainly reject most of the dates now proposed. Other permanent fruits have been gathered. The man who sees clearest the weaknesses and the vices of the higher criticism now in vogue ought also to be most appreciative of its excellences.

In the third place the prevalent higher criticism is not necessarily an attack upon the truthfulness of the Old Testament or upon its claim to our reverence as the Word of God. In this statement the word "necessarily" is important. In a great transition movement there are all sorts of side currents, and some of them differ in direction from the main current. Incidentally, in particular instances, there can be no doubt that faith in the Bible has been sapped. Individual critics have actually been hostile to the received doctrines, and their hostility has not unfrequently been aggravated by the treatment they have received. There have been needless antagonisms, and there have been reckless statements on both sides. And besides this the current criticism, if accepted, logically necessitates modifications of the views of inspiration that have heretofore prevailed. And there are minds so constituted that they will drop their belief in inspiration rather than modify it. Every transition of opinion and every proposed transition, while it is being considered, is attended with peril to individuals. All this is a reason for watchfulness and care. It is not surprising if it causes alarm to good men. The advocates of new views should be very considerate of those who are alarmed. Nevertheless, little children should learn to walk, even if creeping is for the time safer than walking. The fact that the search for knowledge involves danger is no reason why we should be content to remain ignorant.

As a matter of individual opinion I am sure that the final higher criticism will not accept the views which most strongly demand great changes from the received doctrines of inspiration. But even with the utmost modifications called for by the criticism now current, one might still consistently hold that the Bible is in a singular sense God's Word, the record of a unique

revelation inspired by the divine Spirit, the ultimate rule of doctrine and conduct.

One more point, a fourth, must suffice. The prevalent higher criticism is not merely the erratic movement of a few men, to be dealt with as an erratic movement, by ostracism, or satire, or hurried denunciation. A favorite way some have of attacking it is by alleging that its positions are those of Paine's *Age of Reason*. Very likely some of them are. Paine had access in Paris to the works of the great pioneers of the present higher critical movement, and presumably he used them. The alleged resemblances between the *Age of Reason* and the current critical theories are mostly unreal, but it is a fact that these pioneer critics have now obtained from the devout Christian world the hearing that was denied them a hundred years ago. Whether the fact is pleasing or not, it is a fact. The higher criticism of today is part of a long-existing historical movement. Its progress in the past can be traced. Its laws can be ascertained. It is bound to go forward to its proper terminus. It is not accidental that the coming to the front of these discussions occurs in our day. A hundred years ago was too early for it; a hundred years hence would have been too late. It comes under law. In other words it is providential. The world has just become ripe for it. It is a part of God's plan for the education of mankind.

The time has come for a better knowledge of the Bible than was formerly possible. The conflict that is going on will be a benefit to us, if it awakens us to this fact. Without the conflict we should not have become conscious of our need. The conflict provokes study and discussion. It would not provoke these half so thoroughly were there no disclosures of error or of danger. Every time of unsettlement has its peril, but by such crises a more intelligent knowledge and a firmer faith become possible. It is ours to watch, to keep our eyes open to the signs of the times, to recognize the good there is, and to resist the evil, to do this without becoming uncharitable or unjust toward those who differ with us, and without becoming panic stricken, as though God could be slain, or truth could fail.

NOTE ON THE BEARING OF DEUT. 34:1 UPON THE QUESTION OF THE AUTHORSHIP OF DEUTERONOMY.

By W. SCOTT WATSON, JR., A.M.

THE critics lay great stress upon the mention of Dan in Dt. 34:1 as a time indication, because, as they say, "Laish first received the appellation Dan from the Danites immediately after Joshua's death (Josh. 19:47; Judg. 18:29)." I believe that Moses wrote all of Deuteronomy with the exception of the short appendix which, I think, was added by Joshua.

In regard to this mention of Dan I observe:

(1) In the present state of the knowledge of Palestinian geography it at least cannot be proved that there was no town or district called Dan before the death of Joshua. Conservative critics need not be troubled by any objections based on the occurrence of this name here until there is some apparently strong proof adduced that there could have been only one place called by this name and that that place was not so known until after the death of Joshua.

(2) As this name occurs in a well-defined appendix, however late may have been the date of its origin, it does not affect the question of the Mosaic authorship of (the rest of) Deuteronomy. It affects only the date of the appendix.

(3) There is no necessity for saying that the name Dan was not given to Laish before the death of Joshua.

Judges 17-21 is not in its chronological place with regard to the rest of the history of that book; 17-18 is the story of Micah and of the Danite expedition; 19-21 is the account of the treatment which a certain Levite's concubine received and of the consequent almost total annihilation of the tribe of Benjamin. These two incidents are probably narrated in the order of occurrence. The latter is dated by 20:28, where it is said that "Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, stood before it

[the ark] in those days." From Josh. 22 it would appear that Phinehas became high priest before the death of Joshua (indeed, perhaps "many days" before, Josh. 23:1), probably through the old age of his father whose death is recorded in Josh. 24:33. Phinehas is not mentioned in the Book of Joshua before this chapter (22), but in it he occupies a prominent place and is spoken of as "Phinehas the priest" (vs. 30; cf. "Phinehas, the son of Eleazar the priest," vss. 13, 31, 32). Previously it was always "Eleazar the priest" that was spoken of (14:1; 17:4; 19:51; 21:1). Thus these events touching Benjamin did not occur long after Joshua's death at the latest, for a high priest who lived under Joshua was still officiating. But the position of 17-18 shows that probably the facts related therein took place still earlier.

When the company of Danites were on their way to Laish, the name of which they changed to Dan on its capture, they took from Micah "the young man the Levite" (Judges 18:15, 19) whom he had for a priest. This "young man" was "Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses" (vs. 30). His father Gershom was born to Moses when he was dwelling with Reuel in Midian (Ex. 2:22), apparently not long after his arrival there. Thus he may have been about thirty-five years of age at the exodus. As he did not enter Canaan but died in the wilderness in all probability, his son Jonathan must have been born before the death of Moses. As Joshua lived about thirty-two years after crossing the Jordan (Schaff-Herzog, p. 1203), this Jonathan must have been older than that when the second leader of Israel breathed his last,—yet at the time of naming Laish Dan he was only a "young man." Therefore this incident most likely occurred before Joshua's death, and thus, even if this is the Dan mentioned in Dt. 34:1, the foundation for the objection based thereon to the Joshuaic authorship of the appendix of Deuteronomy is gone.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY: ITS HISTORY AND ITS MISSION.

II.

By REV. PROFESSOR GEORGE H. GILBERT, PH.D., D.D.,
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THE principle of Gabler began to bear fruit early in this century in biblical theological studies of individual authors or groups of authors. Thus Usteri presented the teaching of Paul in 1832, Frommann that of John in 1839, and Messner that of the apostles in 1856.

These writers and the large number of others who have continued their line of investigation have brought out with hitherto unknown clearness the rich variety of Scripture; and while they have helped to destroy that idea of the unity of the Bible which prevailed before the Reformation, they have helped to demonstrate a true divine unity in which the different types are comprehended. Passing over the works of Schmid^a and Hahn^a we come to what must be regarded as the best fruits thus far of the principle of Gabler, namely, the New Testament theology of Bernhard Weiss, 1868, (Fourth edition, 1895) and Willibald Beyschlag, 1891, and the Old Testament theology of Hermann Schultz, 1869, G. F. Oehler, 1873, and the fourth edition of Schultz, 1892. With these writers, as with Gabler, biblical theology is a purely historical science. They distinguish sharply between biblical theology and systematized evangelical doctrine, holding that these differ both in form and in content. "Biblical theology is neither apologetic nor polemic, but objective and impartial (Schaff). "It does not demonstrate, it narrates" (Reuss). They recognize development in the religious and moral teachings of Scripture, and the importance of individual types.

^a *Biblische Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 1853.

^a *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*, 1854.

These works represent the best that has thus far been accomplished in the sphere of biblical theology. They are not to be regarded as ideal and final. They have manifest defects; and furthermore it is probable that each new age, if it is alive to God, will call for a new presentation of revealed truth. But of works covering the whole of either Testament these that have been mentioned register the high-water mark of scientific biblical theology.

It will be noticed that the development of this science as far as sketched has been wholly by Germans, and also that I have considered only the important *books* that have been produced. The first point scarcely needs any qualification. With the exception of Reuss' work and the recent able book by Jules Bovon¹ the foreign literature is German. And little original work in the English language has as yet been contributed.² But we must not stop with the literature. It is a fact of great significance that biblical theology as a distinct scientific discipline is being taught in our theological seminaries. In 1881 a writer in the *Bibliotheca Sacra* could say that in twenty of our leading seminaries there was not a single chair of biblical theology. Now it might be difficult to find a well equipped seminary in which biblical theology is not accorded a place, and a considerable number of our best institutions have distinct chairs for this department. So Union, Andover, Hartford, Yale, McCormick and others. The establishment of these chairs is a recognition of the abiding scientific value of biblical theology, and the existence of each one of them is a fact of greater importance for the growth and usefulness of biblical theology than almost any separate contribution to the literature of the subject.

One aspect of the history of biblical theology still remains to be considered. I have spoken briefly of the origin and development of this latest theological science. It has been said that it was a true child of the principles of the Reformation. It must

¹ *Théologie du Nouveau Testament*, 1893.

² We have in America the two books by Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*, and *The Johannine Theology*.

not, however, be supposed that the preparation for it was completed with the enunciation of those principles. Rather must we say that the preparation which was begun by the Reformers has been deepened and widened in a remarkable manner by the biblical study of the last hundred years, and that this preparation is still going forward. All the true progress which has been made in the criticism of the text of Scripture, all the progress made in the higher or literary criticism of the Bible, all the established results gained from the study of the history contemporary with the biblical ages, all the progress made in the philological investigation of the languages of the Bible—all these results are directly or indirectly tributary to the science of biblical theology. It presupposes all these lines of study. *Their* progress involves its progress. It could not exist as a science without them. Hence all successful laborers in these departments have been furthering the interests of a scientific biblical theology, and it may well be that some of these laborers have done more to promote biblical theology than many who have worked in this special department. In this work of building foundations England and America have had their part no less than Germany. Of the American scholars whose names might be mentioned with praise, one deserves especial notice. This scholar was, so far as I can learn, the first among us to lecture on biblical theology, which he did as early at least as 1883. He was not only the pioneer in this work but he has contributed to it indirectly by numerous scientific writings on the literary origin and character of the Old Testament Scriptures. He has contributed to it also by vigorous polemic against unsound principles of interpretation and against unscriptural teachings in his own denomination. I refer, of course, to the one who is accused of having so troubled the Presbyterian Israel in the last few years, but who might truthfully reply to the ultra-conservative element therein, "I have not troubled Israel but thou and thy father's house." Professor Briggs' work, as compared with that of his accusers, must be admitted to be far more scientific and scriptural.

From this historical sketch we pass on to consider briefly the second part of our theme—the *mission* of biblical theology. The

importance of this discipline, which is for Christians logically implied in the fact that it is a scientific presentation of the teaching of God's word, is recognized by competent students and is rated very high. Thus Grau¹ says: "Biblical theology is in my judgment the most important organ of the present day for drawing real water of life from that source from which alone it can be had, both for the Church which is desirous of new spiritual power, and for dogmatics which thirsts for new sources and principles." And Dr. Schaff thinks that "biblical theology should be the guiding star in all departments of sacred learning, a focus of light in theological study."² "Biblical theology," says Hermann Schultz, "is as it were the heart of theological science, which by working on the original sources, gathers the life-blood into one great center in order to pour it back again into the veins, so that the theological life of the existing church may be kept strong and healthy."³ Dr. Orr in his "Christian View of God and the World" refers to New Testament theology as a recently founded science which has already attained to a position of *commanding importance* among the theological disciplines. These testimonies need not be multiplied, but I proceed at once to ask why biblical theology is thus exalted. What is its mission? But before attempting to answer this question, let me again bring to our mind the definition of biblical theology. It is the historical presentation of the moral and religious teachings of the Bible—*historical* in contrast to dogmatic or systematic. The word *historical* implies the recognition of development, if there is development, and the differences of individual types, if there are such differences. *Historical presentation* implies that we assume as far as possible the point of view of the different biblical writers, that we observe the proportions which they give to their respective teachings, and that we state the facts as we find them.⁴

There has been and still is not a little misunderstanding in regard to what is meant by biblical theology. Thus *The Inde-*

¹ In Zöckler's *Handbuch der theol. Wissenschaften*, p. 614, note.

² *Theological Propædæutic*, p. 318.

³ *Biblische theologie des Alten Testaments*, 1892.

⁴ See James Drummond, *Introduction to the Study of Theology*, 1884.

pendent of January 29, 1891, defines biblical theology as follows: "By biblical theology we understand theology directly derived from the Bible, resting upon it, proved by it, and accepted because there taught." Plainly this *understanding*, judged by the history of the science, is mainly a misunderstanding. Nor is the statement of James Stalker¹ in an excellent article published in 1890 wholly right. He says that "Biblical theology undertakes to show that there is in the Bible a gradual development of revelation, preceding by slow and sure stages from the earliest to the latest books. It undertakes to exhibit this development from book to book, or at least from group to group of books." Now it is true that as a result of biblical study a gradual development of revelation has been established, but biblical theology does not undertake to show that there *is* such a development in the Bible from book to book. If it started out to demonstrate that point, or if it started out to prove from the Bible any assumption, it would cease to be a historical science. The claim of biblical theology is that it does not undertake to prove anything. This is its great merit. It simply asks after facts. If it finds development, it states it; but were it to undertake to *prove* that there is development, it would cease to be historical and become dogmatic.

What, then, is the mission of biblical theology as thus understood? First, it has a mission in relation to the *Bible*. In the words of Dr. Schaff already quoted, biblical theology brings us face to face with the divine oracles in all their original power and freshness. It is indeed able to do this, because it takes up into itself all that has been gained by the scientific study of the text and presents the teaching in its entirety,—presents it as nearly as possible as it existed in the mind of the respective authors.* It is then the last and highest work of the interpreter. Teaching that lies scattered in books of law and prophecy, in histories, poems and epistles, is presented in its variety and unity, stamped with the individuality of its different authors, and set in the light of the different ages in which it was promulgated.

¹ See *Magazine of Christian Literature*, May 1890.

* See Wendt in *Lehre Jesu, Zweiter Theil*, p. 3.

Biblical theology has done much in bringing out into strong relief on the background of a national Jewish literature, the individuality of lawgiver, prophets, kings, and apostles, and the distinctive types of doctrine which they represented. Biblical theology has helped to bring out the *development* of revelation, and to mark its various stages. It has helped to an appreciation of the human element in the Bible, which must indeed be appreciated in order to a true appreciation of the divine element. Biblical theology has helped to exalt the Bible, by showing how through all this vast and varied literature one increasing divine purpose runs—the purpose of redemption.

This mission of biblical theology in relation to the Bible is only partially fulfilled, and the need of it will probably always exist.

But again, biblical theology has a mission in relation to *systematic theology*. This is the twofold mission of Jeremiah, to pluck up and break down, to build and to plant. Biblical theology cannot be directly destructive of error in the teachings of the church; that is, it cannot be polemic, citing and refuting unscriptural views, for thus it would cease to be historical. But it can remove erroneous teaching by the quiet and more effectual way of presenting the truth. It is its mission so to do. The systematic theology of Augustine was as scriptural as the exegesis of that time could have demanded, but the exegesis was very deficient. The theology of Calvin and the other reformers was as scriptural as the exegesis of their day could have demanded, and as a whole is admitted to have been more scriptural than the theology of Augustine. But biblical criticism began with the reformers, and as we now know it was impossible that they should do more than make a beginning in it. Now the systematic theology of the early church and of the reformers has been largely conserved unto this present day, while exegetical knowledge of the Word of God is vastly more accurate and complete now than in any preceding century. It seems to be true that the current systematic theology of Protestantism is not as scriptural either in what it affirms or what it does not affirm as the exegesis of our time demands. It must then, as

one has said, be rectified and fructified by being led back to the fountain-head of revealed truth. To take a single illustration of the need of this. "Calvinism, according to one of the most honored Presbyterian teachers of our time,¹ starts from a double predestination which antedates creation, and is the divine programme as it were of history. This programme includes the successive stages of a universal fall, a partial redemption and salvation, and a partial reprobation and damnation." Thus, it is admitted, that the doctrine of divine decrees is the central and dominant fact in Calvinism. But is it central and dominant in the Word of God? On the contrary, we must say that the great majority of the writers of the Bible, if interrogated regarding this point, reply that they are wholly ignorant of such a doctrine. Even Paul repudiates it. The Bible would have to be entirely re-written in order to give the doctrine of decrees the place and prominence which Calvin claimed for it. It stands in the dim background of Scripture, when it appears at all; but here is a system of theology in which it is central.

Now it is the mission of biblical theology to furnish the weapons of truth with which errors in existing dogmatics, where there are such, may be destroyed, and to co-work, in the most friendly way, with systematic theology in the construction of a system of doctrine which shall speak when the Bible speaks, and be silent when the Bible is silent; which shall speak aloud where the Bible speaks aloud, and shall speak gently where the Bible speaks gently; which shall regard the *proportions* of revealed truth in the Bible as themselves a part of the permanent teaching of God; a system which shall be scriptural first and speculative afterward, if at all, and which shall scrupulously refrain from prefixing to its speculative deliverances a "Thus saith the Lord;" a system which, if so unfortunate as to bear the name of any man, shall yet be recognized by ordinary people as having a divine right to be called scriptural; and a system, finally, which, though in the fuller light of advancing years it may be found to be *less* than biblical shall never be discovered to be *anti-biblical*.

¹See SCHAFF, in *Andover Review*, 1892.

Systematic theologians cannot, of course, be expected to take blindly whatever is offered to them by biblical theology, but they will be willing to take facts, or show in open field that what are claimed to be facts are not. They will take the gathered fruits of biblical theology, maintaining, however, their own independence, as the laborer in biblical theology, though working independently, looks for help to the various earlier departments of exegetical study.

Thirdly and lastly, biblical theology has a mission to *Christian life*. This is implied, indeed, in the statement that its aim is to interpret Scripture, for whatever helps to interpret Scripture adds to the moral and religious forces that are abroad; and it is implied also in its mission to systematic theology, for whatever helps systematic theology will, in the end, be helpful to common Christian life; but it is right that the bearing of biblical theology on Christian life should be a little more fully stated.

Christian life is not supported *by* a book, but it is supported very largely *through* a book, by the Spirit of God. That book is a divine literature which blossomed through ten centuries, and the separate books of that literature must be interpreted, as one has said, from their center, and no longer from a small section of their circumference.¹

Biblical theology seeks thus to interpret the separate books and authors, and to rise from this to a synthesis of the entire Old Testament and of the entire New Testament, and then, finally, to a synthesis of the entire revelation of Scripture.

The existence of such a method of study among the religious teachers of a people is of incalculable value. The formation of this habit of looking at Scripture as a whole means ultimately largeness and simplicity of conceptions regarding the great themes of life.

But biblical theology fosters not only a knowledge of the ranges of Scripture in their entirety, but it fosters also the historical method of study, which is the distinguishing characteristic of modern exegesis as compared with the early and mediæval. The value of this to Christian life cannot be estimated. The

¹ BRIGGS, in *Whither*, 1890.

historical method of studying the Bible brings God very near; the allegorical method puts him far away. The historical method puts facts beneath our feet for us to stand upon; the allegorical method put there fancies as changeful and as insubstantial as mists at sunrise.

Biblical theology, because historical, is, in its completed form, christological, but while it recognizes that the needle of all Scripture points toward the incarnation of God in Jesus Christ, it does not confuse the reality with the shadow, and identify the end with the beginning. It does not say with Augustine, using the words as he used them, that the New Testament is concealed in the Old and the Old revealed in the New. It sees rather that Jesus is greater than the temple, more glorious than any vision that was flashed on the spirit of prophets in their most exalted states of divine communion, and that the kingdom of Jesus far transcends not only the separate foregleams of its coming, but also the total conception of all Old Testament prophecy. Hence a part of the mission of biblical theology to Christian life is to restore the historical perspective in which writers and periods should appear in their providential relation to Christ, and to cultivate the habit of estimating all Scripture by the central fact of all.

We see Moses and Elijah, yea, also Peter and James and John, on the Mount with Jesus, who is permanently transfigured, and we recognize as divine the voice which says regarding the Son, *Hear ye him.*

This great mission of biblical theology to the Bible, to systematic theology, and to Christian life will probably be fulfilled in divers ways and slowly, but we may believe that an increasing fulfilment is certainly to be accomplished, and that out of the Scripture, better understood and better loved, the Lord Jesus will be continually going forth conquering and to conquer.

Aids to Bible Readers.¹

PAUL'S LETTER TO THE ROMANS.

By ERNEST D. BURTON.

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The beginnings of Christianity in Rome—The Gentile character of the Christian community—Gentile type of the Christianity—The Apostle's reasons for writing: The Roman Christians were in his territory by virtue of being Gentiles; his work in the East was finished; he could not go to Rome at once; there was danger of the Judaizers coming to Rome—Purpose of the ethical part; of the whole—Analysis.

THE letter of the apostle Paul to the Romans differs from all his earlier extant letters in that it is written to the Christians of a city which up to the time of the writing of the letter he had never visited. To whose labor or to what causes the beginnings of Christianity in Rome were due, it is impossible to say with certainty. Residents of Rome, Jews or Jewish proselytes, visiting Jerusalem and hearing the gospel preached there; travelers hearing of the new religion in the lands about the Ægean Sea, where Paul and his companions had preached it; preachers of the gospel who went to Rome for the very purpose of carrying the gospel to the capital city—all these may have had that part in bringing it about before the apostle of the Gentiles found himself free to visit the great Gentile capital there was already there a band of believers whose faith was spoken of far and wide (Rom. 1: 8-13). But it is a noticeable fact that the apostle makes no reference to any previous connection, direct or indirect, between himself and the church as such. Probably neither he nor any one closely associated with him had taken any leading part in the founding of the church. Equally noticeable is the absence of any reference to any other person as the founder of the church. The view that it was planted by Peter finds no hint of support in the letter—indeed seems plainly excluded by the apostle's conduct and his principle of not building on another man's foundation, which he announces in this very letter—15: 20. The view most consistent with the internal evidence is that the church was in a peculiar sense an independent body, owing its existence to various

influences rather than to the labors of a single apostle or missionary. Indeed it seems probable that the Christians in Rome constituted several groups or communities rather than one organized body. The letter is addressed to all Christians in Rome (1:7), but the word *church* occurs only in the 16th chapter, and then refers, as concerns Rome, to a local group of Christians rather than to the whole body of Christians in the city.

Concerning the character of the community the letter affords us somewhat more definite information. The Christians in Rome were evidently in large part of Gentile blood. While addressing himself to all Christians in the city the apostle definitely speaks of them as Gentiles (1:5, 6, 13). That there were also Jews or Jewish proselytes among the Roman Christians is indeed probable. Setting aside 2:17, which is merely an apostrophe, and 7:1, which rightly translated contains no reference to the Jewish law in particular, and 4:1, in which the apostle perhaps merely speaks from his own point of view, it still remains that Paul assumes in his arguments and references an acquaintance with the Old Testament on the part of his readers not likely to have existed if the church were simply and purely Gentile (the similar element in Galatians is to be explained from the Jewish influences to which the Galatians had been subjected), and especially that the scruples about food and days spoken of in chaps. 14, 15, are much more likely to have existed among Jews than among Gentiles. Yet the paucity of this evidence and the definiteness of the expressions referring to the persons addressed as Gentiles, leaves no room for doubt that these latter constituted the prevailing element of the Christian community. It was moreover as Gentiles that they became Christians. There is nothing in the letter to indicate that they had as yet come under such a judaizing influence as that, for example, to which the Galatian churches had been subjected. All that the apostle says concerning what they had been taught is in approval (1:8; 6:17; 15:14). This is not indeed enough to show that he was entirely satisfied with them. Yet when taken with the silence of the letter concerning any serious errors prevalent among them, and with what we know of the apostle's view of the judaizing heresy as being for Gentiles an utter perversion of the gospel (Gal. 1:7; 5:2 ff.); it goes far toward proving that the Christians in Rome already held a type of Christianity not widely different from that which Paul preached; it makes it quite certain that they had not accepted circumcision and the ordinances of the Jewish law as the foundation stone of their Christianity. This existence in Rome

of a Christian community, not only predominantly made up of Gentiles, but holding a non-Jewish type of Christianity, yet not established by Paul, is itself an interesting fact and one which throws light upon the progress of Christianity in the apostolic age.

There is at first sight something rather perplexing in the evidence concerning Paul's relations to the Romans, and his reasons for wishing to visit them. On the one side it is evident that he regarded the Roman Christians as within the scope of his apostleship just because they were Gentiles (Rom. 1:5, 6, 13; 15:14-16). On the other side he declares that he has made it his aim so to preach the gospel not where Christ was already named, that he might not build upon another man's foundation, and that this has prevented his coming to Rome hitherto (15:20-22). There is an apparent inconsistency between this principle and his then present intention to go to Rome, which he has already announced and which only a few lines later he announces again. But this appearance of inconsistency is turned into a means of gaining a more exact knowledge of the apostle's principles and methods when we observe that in writing Rom. 15:20 Paul really has before his mind two closely related, yet distinguishable, principles respecting his choice of places of labor. The one pertains to the condition of the place in itself considered, the other to the relation to other Christian workers into which labor in a given place will bring him. The latter of these two principles is expressed in the words "that I might not build on another man's foundation." Its precise significance is made clearer by the comparison of 2 Cor. 10:13 ff. At Corinth other men had encroached on Paul's field of labor, seeking to pervert his followers, and thus to find occasion of glorying in things made ready to their hand by him. Of such conduct Paul declares himself not guilty. He would not encroach on another man's territory, or, as he says in Romans, he would not build on another man's foundation. Yet this principle does not exclude him from Rome. The avowal of the principle is followed immediately by the announcement of his intention to come to Rome. Moreover, he had long wished to come to Rome, and had been hindered not by anything in the history or constitution of the Christian community there, but by a temporary obstacle now removed (1:13), viz., the pressure of work further east (15:20-23). Indeed, he evidently feels it necessary to explain why he had not come before rather than why he comes at all. It is evident, therefore, both that Rome is not in the territory of another and that his principle respecting his fellow-workers, was not that he would not

take up the work another had laid down, or carry forward what he had not himself begun, but that he would not encroach on a territory that belonged to another, would not seek to proselyte a church founded on different lines from those which he approved. His principle of choice of fields, so far as it pertained to the condition of the field, is expressed in the words, "making it my aim so to preach the gospel not where Christ was already named." Obedience to this principle had kept him in the East till he had fully preached the gospel from Jerusalem round about unto Illyricum; and even now that his work in the East is finished, he can gratify his long-cherished desire to visit Rome only on his way to unevangelized Spain (15:24). Yet the fact that he writes to the Romans and that he plans to visit them even on the way, shows that his principle was not that he should never do any work in a field where Christ was already known, but that he should not allow such work to interfere with his own special task of *planting* Christianity in new fields. Combined into one the two principles become a determination to give the preference to unevangelized fields and never to labor in places where Christ has already been preached, either when this would be encroaching on another man's territory or when it would interfere with his own proper pioneer work. The former condition had apparently never existed in the case of Rome. We have at least no intimation in the letter or elsewhere of its existence. We are led to believe that though the field was not Paul's by right of having planted the seed there, yet it was his by virtue of its Gentile character, and belonged to no one else by any conflicting claim. The second obstacle had till now hindered him from going to Rome, but was now removed by the completion of his work in the East, and the fact that Rome could be visited on the way to Spain.

But why then does not the apostle start at once for Rome? Why did he write this letter instead of going? He had reached a turning point in his work as a Christian missionary. From Jerusalem round about even unto Illyricum he had fully preached the gospel, so that he had no longer any place in these regions (Rom. 15:19-23). The missionary journeys in Asia Minor, Macedonia, and Greece, of which we read in the letters to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Corinthians, were all past, and by them he had lighted the light of the gospel in the centers of influence throughout the Greek world. His face is toward the West as never before. But one thing hinders him. He has an errand to accomplish in Jerusalem. It is a matter of great consequence. Eager as he is to reach Rome, eager as he is to preach the

gospel to regions beyond, the long journey to Jerusalem must first be made in order to carry to the poor among the saints there the offering of the Gentile Christians in Galatia, Macedonia and Achaia, and thus to bind together by bonds of love and gratitude the two great divisions of the church and to avert a schism of the body of Christ. How long time this journey would occupy it was of course impossible to foresee. Meantime he knows only too well that the same party whose influence he has reason to fear at Jerusalem, and who have for several years been moving westward along the line of the Gentile churches, is not likely to be inactive. The judaizers who have so nearly succeeded in corrupting the churches of the Galatians, and who have so bitterly opposed him at Corinth have not yet given up the fight. They do not seem to have reached Rome; certainly they had made no marked impression there. But no one could tell how soon they might take ship for Italy. The time which Paul's journey to Jerusalem would necessarily occupy would give them time to anticipate him in Rome.

The occasion of the letter, then, seems to be furnished by the coincidence of these facts; the completion of the apostle's work in the East leading him to turn his face toward the West; the necessity of postponing his journey thither long enough to make a visit to Jerusalem; and the activity of the judaizers, involving the danger that before he should reach Rome they would be there perverting the Christians of the capital from the liberal type of Christianity, which up to this time they had held, to the narrow, judaistic view of the nature of the gospel's mission. That the letter to the Romans was written to prepare the Roman Christians against a possible attack of the judaizers, is indeed nowhere explicitly stated, but the epistle is certainly admirably adapted to this end, and no more probable view of its main purpose has ever been suggested.

This does not, however, quite account for the whole letter. The practical ethical portion of the letter (12:1—15:13) bears no special marks of being directed against judaistic errors. It deals in part with broad principles of Christian morality appropriate to any church; in part with the relations of Christians to the state, a matter of special importance to Christians in Rome; in part with the conscientious scruples, felt by some but not at all appreciated by others, concerning the eating of meat and the observance of certain days. Such differences of opinion on matters of conscience might easily become the occasion of dissension and division. Yet it does not appear that such division had actually occurred. In general purpose, therefore, this

portion of the letter is akin to the earlier chapters. It seeks to build up and fortify rather than to correct or to rebuke; only the dangers which it foresees are from within rather than from without, and are moral rather than doctrinal.

Taking the whole letter together it is evident that it was written when the apostle was looking forward to visiting Rome, yet was temporarily hindered from going at once, and that its purpose was to set before the Roman Christians a clear exposition of the gospel of salvation for both Jews and Gentiles by faith apart from works of the law, and to enforce certain great principles of Christian morality, in order to protect them against the possible assault of judaizing error, and to build them up in Christian character particularly in the matters affecting their relation to the state and their internal harmony.

The course of thought is orderly and systematic, and in the main so clear as to leave but little room for difference of opinion concerning it.

ANALYSIS.

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| I. INTRODUCTION. | I : 1-17. |
| 1. Salutation, including description of the author's apostleship. | I : 1-7. |
| 2. Thanksgiving for the faith of the Christians in Rome, and expression of his deep interest in them. | I : 8-15. |
| 3. Theme of the Letter : The Gospel the power of God unto salvation to everyone that believes, both Jew and Greek. | I : 16, 17. |
| II. DOCTRINAL PORTION OF THE LETTER : Defense and exposition of the theme. | I : 18-11 : 36. |
| A. Sin and guilt universal, and hence justification by works of law impossible. | I : 18-3 : 20. |
| 1. The guilt of the Gentiles. | I : 18-32. |
| 2. The guilt of the Jews. | 2 : 1-3 : 20. |
| B. But now a righteousness apart from works of law, available through faith, for both Jews and Gentiles, has been revealed ; this righteousness described and explained. | 3 : 21-5 : 21. |
| 1. This righteousness comprehensively described. | 3 : 21-26. |
| 2. Bearing of this on Jewish pride and exclusiveness. | 3 : 27-30. |
| 3. Accordance of this teaching with law (<i>i. e.</i> , with the Old Testament conception of the nature and office of law) shown from the case of Abraham. | 2 : 31-4 : 25. |
| 4. Blessedness and excellence of this salvation. | ch. 5. |
| a) Blessed consequences of justification ; peace ; joy | |

- in tribulation; hope of final salvation, fully assured since it rests on God's love manifested in our justification and proved by the death of Christ for us. 5:1-11.
- b) Excellence of this salvation shown by comparing and contrasting the sin and death that came through Adam with the righteousness unto life that came through Jesus Christ. 5:12-21.
- C. The changed relations of those that are justified, to sin, and law, and death. chaps. 6, 7, 8.
1. To sin. chap. 6.
 2. To law. chap. 7.
 3. To death. 8:1-30.
 4. Triumphant summing up of the blessedness of God's elect. 8:31-39.
- D. The rejection of Israel. chaps. 9, 10, 11.
1. The apostle's grief over the fact. 9:1-5.
 2. Yet God is justified therein. 9:6-33.
 - a) It violates no promise of God. 9:6-13.
 - b) It involves no intrinsic unrighteousness in God. 9:14-24.
 - c) It was foretold by the prophets. 9:25-29.
 - d) The failure of the Jews to attain righteousness is due to their own lack of faith. 9:30-33.
 3. The apostle's desire that they may be saved. 10:1.
 4. The fault of the Jews shown more explicitly. 10:2-21.
 - a) Ignorance of the divine way of righteousness. 10:2-15.
 - b) Wilful resistance: they heard but obeyed not. 10:16-21.
 5. The nature of this rejection explained. 11:1-32.
 - a) Not of the nation *in toto* but consisting rather in the election of a part and the hardening of the rest. 11:1-10.
 - b) Not absolute and final. 11:11-32.
 6. Ascription of praise to God for his unsearchable wisdom. 11:33-36.
- III. HORTATORY PORTION OF THE EPISTLE. 12:1-15:13
1. The believer's offering of himself to God. 12:1, 2.
 2. His duty as a member of the body of Christ. 12:3-21.
 3. His duty as a subject of civil government. 13:1-7.
 4. His duty as a member of society. 13:8-10.
 5. Enforcement of all these exhortations by the nearness of "the day." 13:11-14.
 6. Concerning them that are weak in faith. 14:1-15:13.
- IV. CONCLUSION: PERSONAL MATTERS, FINAL INJUNCTIONS, and doxology. 15:14-16:27.

PROFESSOR BRUCE'S LECTURES AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

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II. EVOLUTION AND AGNOSTICISM.

REMARKABLE as is the position occupied by Professor Bruce in relation to historic Christianity, it is equaled in originality, scholarship, and sympathy by his treatment of the scientific and philosophic postulates of Christianity. Readers of the summary of the former in the October number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD* will desire a summary of the latter. Professor Bruce's conclusions on evolution and on agnosticism are accordingly here presented, and to them just one remark should be added. That undesigned evidence, the telltale voice, bore witness throughout these lectures that if ever envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness had existed in relation to those who, though they might agree in aspiration and moral purpose with the lecturer, differed intellectually from him, such feelings had forever passed away. This sympathetic power, as rare as it is invaluable in expositor and critic, was possessed by Professor Bruce in an exceptional degree, and this it was, we judge, that from beginning to end inspired his hearers with the confidence in his judgment they evidently felt.

EVOLUTION AND THEISM.—The eighteenth century view of the world as a mechanism with a transcendent God has yielded in the nineteenth, under the influence of Lyall, Darwin, and Spencer, to a view of it as an organism with an immanent God. Some thinkers, however, still deem requisite a special action of God at certain crises. Thus Chapman in his "Pre-organic Evolution" holds that the general equilibrium of the primitive world—all needed action *ab extra* to initiate motion. But, if true, this view would prove of little use to ordinary minds.

Again, the origin of life is considered by many a hopeless enigma without the assumption of quickening from an outside source. Bastian and all since him have denied spontaneous generation. Therefore, some theists argue, when life appeared, as all grant it did at a certain time, it did so from the immediate causality of God. But others cry *non sequitur*, since the conditions may have differed, and with them the results. The presumption is always in favor of natural causes, and since life appeared at a particular time, its preconditions probably existed. Life is not more than the action of matter in peculiar combination. Such arguments of Mr. Fiske have led Professor Drummond and other theists to abandon their old position that the origin of life formed a crisis in evolution, requiring action *ab extra*, while they hold that God is in all life from beginning to close.

Many appeal to the origin of consciousness as inexplicable from the natural conditions then present. Here the scientist assumes an agnostic position, and the theist may, with Le Conte, here as before give evolution full sweep and argue to God as the ground of the whole. This Mr. Spencer can concede, and thus God's action on the world becomes conceivable or at least credible in analogy with the action on our bodies of our own spirits. The contention between evolution and theism has been only as to the *mode* of God's action, which is relatively unimportant. The evolution of man's body from lower animal life is now generally admitted on the evidence of anatomy and embryology. The human embryo passes through the stages of fish, reptile and mammal before maturing as man. The evolution of man's mind is still in dispute. Proofs for it are sought in mental phenomena of the lower animals, of savages, and of children. Thus Romanes speaks of receipts as the animal analogy of human concepts, enabling an animal to distinguish a stone from a loaf, and developing into concepts by the aid of language. But does not language presuppose the very thing—reason—it is here introduced to explain?

Evolution seeks to explain the origin of conscience also. Mr. Spencer defines conduct as acts adapted to ends, and hence applicable to all animals. Animals that bear myriads can have no family affection, which begins in mammals, and is perfected in man where prolongation of infancy owing to increase of cerebral surface extends the period of parental care. Perhaps the same *hysteron proteron* as above occurs here also.

Mr. Fiske in his "Man's Destiny in the Light of his Origin," a book I exhort everyone to read, has set aside the polemic of his "Cosmic Philosophy" against theism. It appears here that evolution puts man just where revelation and the *consensus gentium* have, at the head of creation, and indeed proves it. If we thus accept the evolution of man's entire nature, we can show that he has significance in an interpretation of the world, in the knowledge of God, and in the understanding of himself. Thus, first, in man all that precedes finds its rational end. Second, this evidence of God's *purpose* in creation grounds the inference to him as like man, whereas the argument from *causality* would admit of God being as much like one thing—say matter—as another, namely man. It is true that anthropomorphism has marred this concept, but progress takes place here also, every age needing its own prophets. In the third place, man's position in nature grounds a forecast to his destiny in ultimate perfection. Evolutionists like Mr. Fiske and Professor Le Conte accept even the immortality of man as an act of faith in the reasonableness of God's work.

As to Christ and evolution, we must stick to him at all hazards. But he is a problem we may leave the future to solve.

AGNOSTICISM.—This term was meant by its originator, Professor T Huxley, to suggest antithesis to gnosticism, the profession of full knowledge about God. Science is often agnostic because jealous of the introduction of

God into the realm of causality, and because it believes it deprives the old theistic arguments—cosmological and teleological—of their cogency, and finally because it fails to distinguish between man and brutes in point of worth and significance. As to the theistic arguments referred to, interest in them is waning, though Professor R. Flint and Dr. Martineau have restated them and believe in them. Especially notable are the teleological implications of evolution pointed out by Professor Flint. There are, (1) That atoms have the marks of manufactured articles. (2) That the hereditary production of like by like is not a matter of necessity. (3) That atoms have only a limited and definite tendency to vary, and thus exclude chance. (4) That overproduction which alone renders selection possible is not necessary. Professor Schurman works in the same direction when he shows that the survival of the fittest does not explain the arrival of the fittest. Kant, while an agnostic on speculative grounds, was a theist on ethical ones, and his position has the advantage that the more moral a man is the more cogent does its support become. Hamilton and Mansel deny all natural knowledge of God, the latter in the interests of censured articles of the Christian faith, which he thus removed from the sphere of man's natural judgment. Against Kant the theist may urge that science now tends to realism, and against Hamilton that only on the ground of the moral nature in man can the morality of God be asserted, which involves that the morality be of the same kind.

Agnosticism denies that the existence of God is a necessary assumption of the verdicts of conscience. This assumption is Dr. Martineau's favorite doctrine, compared by him to the necessary perception of the world. Newman held an opposite opinion, and the truth lies between them. The agnostic can quote Newman here, and himself traces conscience to social control, which Martineau opposes on the ground that a "must" cannot be changed into an "ought." The theist need not dogmatize here, for on any of these theories he may hold that God speaks through conscience, immediately according to Dr. Martineau, mediately according to Mr. Spencer.

Again, agnosticism doubts the moral order of the world, or providence, on the ground of the confusion in human life. According to Schopenhauer, the Absolute, if conscious, could be a devil mocking man in cruel sport, and this view is now appearing in light literature. Two cautions are here necessary. (1) Don't assume that the disease is only temporary. (2) Don't flatter yourself there is only little in the world leading to such a view just because all seems well with you. Much is really wrong in the world, and so long as this remains the difficulty with God will remain too. Now, the agnostic position here is not pessimistic as is that of Schopenhauer and his school. Both Mr. Spencer and Mr. Fiske hold that the present condition is transitory to one in which evil will have vanished, and Mr. Fiske recommends for the present resignation, which the agnostics deem admissible in the case of a force, but not in that of a personal God whose justice to future generations cannot excuse injustice to past ones. To this the theist objects that it refuses to

allow God time to work, whereas all growth is slow in proportion to its value, and whereas rapid evolution may involve some inherent impossibility. Indeed, evolution lightens the burden by showing that good is coming with certainty, and thus renders faith less liable now than formerly to fluctuations. Old thinkers overcame the difficulty, and the audacity in thought of the author of Job shows that they must not be supposed under bondage to traditional views. Charges against God should be prevented by the consideration that the possibility of sin was involved in that of a moral being, and that limitation of the divine power is involved in the same, for a *gratia irresistibilis* is unthinkable. The harm of sin was not limited to the sinner lest man should become selfish. Only solidarity affords to love a career. The Old Testament was querulous just here, but the New Testament loyally accepts the law of self-sacrifice. Better to win thus than by stupendous and stupefying miracles.

Lastly, agnosticism doubts the knowability of God, as in modern German theology. Kant's doctrine of the thing-in-itself, and Schleiermacher's doctrine of religion as feeling have led to the view that God is known only as he affects man. Thus Ritschl, who dominates theology in Germany, applying the philosophy of Lotze to theology, confines theology to God's relation to man. Not omnipotence, omniscience and the like, but love should be the attribute of God chosen for investigation. Christ has the religious value of God because God's love is manifested in him, and victory granted through him. Even Christ's metaphysical essence is unknowable, and his divinity must be learned, if at all, in his earthly history, as opposed to theories about his pre-existence. Thus in general theology consists of "value-judgments," and such knowledge of God is as real as similar knowledge about the world. Natural theology is so much waste effort. Dr. Hermann, an extremist of this school, holds that only through Christ can man learn either that God is or that he is good. To which the obvious objection is that much genuine piety is recorded in the Old Testament, and in non-Christian scriptures. Comparative religion has well shown this, and St. Paul declared it of old. Of course, Christ has a unique value in this regard, but he that claims more exposes himself to the agnostic objection that universal experience must be trusted rather than the testimony of any one individual. Better make Christ the true interpreter of experience than oppose him to it, for, in faith, what one sees there depends much upon the mood of the seer.

When Mr. Forsyth declares that nature has no revelation for man because it has no forgiveness, he overlooks such facts as the knitting of bones after fracture and the general tendency to restoration in all living tissue.

The combination of agnosticism with ethico-theism in such writers as Carlyle and Matthew Arnold should be made use of in combating anti-theism. Mr. Arnold showed in "Literature and Dogma" how the Bible is saturated with the notion of God as righteous, and claimed that hence arose its value. It may be well in our times to preach such truths on the basis of Job and Psalms 37 and 73, rather than developed theology. But while the main

contention of Arnold is increasingly approved, it remains true that he has overlooked the greater truth of God's magnanimity in his choice of Israel and manifestation in Christ.

Thus England agrees with Germany in anti-dogmatism, restricting the number of affirmations about God, because we do not know them and need not care. This is healthy compared with a belief in the all-importance of dogma, but may easily go too far, as in Germany in reaction from Hegel who made religion a matter of thought.

Notes and Opinions.

"He Descended into Hell."—Professor Lumby writes vigorously in defense of this clause of the Apostles' Creed, in the *Thinker* for September. It has been attacked because the words in which it is stated are not found in any orthodox creed before A. D. 390, about which date we read in Rufinus (In Symb. Apost., 18) that though not found in the Roman Creed nor in those of the Oriental churches, these words were contained in that of the church of Aquileia in North Italy. It does not appear in the Nicene Creed (A. D. 325), and yet Professor Lumby brings much evidence to show that at that time it was an article of Christian faith. The writings of both Eastern and Western Fathers contain this information, quotations being made from Athanasius, Basil the Great, and Cyril of Jerusalem for the East, and for the West from Hilary of Poitiers and St. Ambrose of Milan, all in the fourth century. In the third century equally strong evidence for the belief is found in the writings of Origen, Clement, Tertullian, Irenaeus, and among the Apostolic Fathers, Ignatius especially. So that the teaching contained in this clause of the Creed is traced back to the days immediately succeeding the apostles. Nothing can account for its prevalence and persistence but the view that it was a part of the most primitive Christian teaching. It should content us to know, says Professor Lumby, that this descent of Christ into Hades is one of the truths revealed in Scripture—that by it we were delivered from the power of death and Satan. To know more we must wait for that other life, in which not only this, but many other of the things of faith will become clear, though now they lie beyond the grasp of human reason.

Jeremiah as a Prophet of Retribution.—Such is the view taken of Jeremiah by Dr. Stalker in the *Expositor* for September, and he states it thus: "Jeremiah may be said to have been the conscience of his generation. The consciences of his contemporaries were blunted and seared, and this was the reason of their ruin; but, as in an ill-doing family there may be a brother or sister in whose gentle heart all the shame and pain accumulate which the others do not feel, so the prophet was the sensitive center in which the sin of the age was fully felt. One function of the conscience is to reveal the moral ideal; and Jeremiah held up to his fellow-countrymen the image of their own life as God intended it to be. Another function of conscience is, when the ideal is infringed, to insist on the wrong which has been committed; and Jeremiah was so incessantly pointing to the particular faults by which the law of God was contravened that we can still see in his pages all the abuses of

the time. But conscience has a further function : when sin has been committed, it gives warning of punishment ; and perhaps the most prominent feature in the work of Jeremiah is the denunciation of divine retribution about to fall on those who have sinned. . . . His function as a prophet of retribution was not restricted to the mere proclamation of the general principle that sin would be punished sometime ; he was, further, endowed to a remarkable degree with the gift of predicting when and in what forms the punishment was to fall.

"At present it is the fashion to depreciate the predictive element in prophecy ; and some interpreters of the prophetic writings appear to take special delight in pointing to instances in which the predictions of the prophets were not fulfilled. This is a reaction from an opposite extreme. A generation ago the predictive element in prophecy received exaggerated prominence. The prophets were spoken of as if their principal function had been the foretelling of future events, and as if the value of any prophetic book had to be measured by the number of coincidences which could be counted between its predictions and subsequent history, Daniel, on this account, for example, being studied more than Isaiah. This was an exaggeration. Prediction was not the sole function of the prophets ; it was not even their principal function. They were not sent to foretell the future condition of the world, but to alter its existing condition ; to grapple with the people of their own generation about their duty and their sin ; to declare the will of the living God for living men. To read the prophets from this point of view is to see them with new eyes ; and it is hardly too much to say that our generation, reading them thus, has rediscovered the most valuable section of the Old Testament.

"Yet prediction was a function of the prophets, and a very extraordinary one. Jeremiah possessed the gift in a remarkable degree. In his very first vision the direction from which the retribution was to come on his country was indicated—'out of the north,' *i. e.*, from Mesopotamia. And this was remarkable, for it might just as well have come from Egypt on the south. . . . As time went on the prophet's sensitiveness to the approach of coming events seemed to grow more keen, and he was able to predict many particulars. One of the most remarkable was the death of the false prophet Haniah, which occurred within the year. Another was that the exile would last for seventy years, instead of being finished in two, as the false prophets were alleging. But the most remarkable instance was Jeremiah's steadfast certainty that the city, with its temple, and the state were for the time to perish. How was he certain of this? The wonder of it is brought home to us when we remember how, in exactly similar circumstances, with a besieging army encircling Jerusalem, Isaiah confidently assured his countrymen that the city would not perish. How did Isaiah know, in the one case, that Jerusalem would be delivered, and Jeremiah, in the other, that it would fall? No doubt the two men stood at different points of the providential development ; there was a profound moral reason, in the one case, why the city should be saved

and its inhabitants receive another chance, and in the other why there should be no further postponement, because the cup of iniquity was full. But it exceeded the wit of man to measure these distinctions, and in the one case and in the other the tallying of events with the preceding predictions was clear proof of supernatural knowledge in the prophet."

Sources of the Acts History.—One of the foremost problems in New Testament criticism at the present time is the ascertainment of the sources from which the Book of Acts was drawn. A recent German work of much ability—Jüngst's *Die Quellen der Apostelgeschichte*—has treated the problem in a way which has aroused much interest and comment. The book is reviewed by Professor Dods, in the *Critical Review* for July, in connection with which he defines the present state of the problem: "Some of the foremost of recent critics despair of ascertaining with any completeness the sources of the narrative of Acts. Although persuaded that the writer has made use of written sources, they think he has so freely adapted his material to the requirements of his book, that it is now impossible thoroughly to sift source from source, or source from redaction. Weizsäcker, for example, says: 'If he used a source, it cannot be indicated in his text. The narrative is too much of a piece, and too smooth for that.' This position, at any rate so far as regards the earlier parts of the book, is held by Holtzmann, Pfeiderer and Beyschlag. On the other hand there have always been, since Schleiermacher's time, critics who not only believed in the possibility of dissecting the narrative into its original component parts, but have actually attempted the dissection. Some of these attempts have, indeed, been merely conjectures or suggestions, not based upon any close examination of the text. Thus, Schleiermacher suggested that the book was made up of scraps of local tradition—an idea which, as Jüngst points out, takes no account of the unity of style in various parts of the book, nor of the relation of the speeches to one another. Biographies of Peter, Paul and Barnabas have been supposed, and a number of other documents. When greater attention began to be paid to the language there was, except in Van Manen and Clemen, a return to simpler views. Feine was satisfied with two sources; Spitta found that two-thirds of the book, including the 'we-passages,' were from the hand of Luke, and that a Jewish Christian document, containing scarcely any speeches, and admitting much more of popular tradition, appears to have been used, not only in the early chapters, but throughout. . . . Blass suggests that Luke may have derived his information regarding the early history of the church in Jerusalem from Mark, who lived there, and who was connected both with Peter and with Barnabas.

"The result reached by Jüngst himself is that the Acts of the Apostles have been composed essentially out of two sources, of which the one (A) embraces the 'we-passages,' and extends through the entire work, but has admitted in the second half considerable interpolations at the hand of the redactor. In the first twelve chapters the redactor (R) has used the so-

called 'Ebionite' source made use of in the gospel (B), but has dislocated its chronological order to adapt it to A. This view has certainly the merit of simplicity. The difficulty is that he does not allow the final revision to be ascribed to Luke. To this companion of Paul's he refers A inclusive of the 'we-passages,' R, the final redactor, really the composer of the book, is brought down to the period between 110 and 125 A. D. . . . The proofs of this late date advanced by Jüngst must be pronounced entirely insufficient. . . . It may be taken for granted that the author of the Book of Acts made use of documentary sources, and was not particularly anxious to conceal this by skilful editing. Dislocations of the narrative, repetitions in the same or very slightly altered form, and other 'infallible proofs,' put this beyond question. It is enough to refer to chaps. 5:12b-14, 2:41-47, cf. 5:32-35. Let any one consider how 2:41, in which it is said that three thousand souls had been added to the church, is related to vs. 43, in which it is said that they were all in one place; or let him consider the relation between the statement of 2:43, that many wonders and signs were done by the apostles, and the account given in chap. 3 of the *first* miracle, and he will conclude that this book was not written freely from information held in the mind of the writer, but that he was endeavoring to embody as much as he could of the information which lay before him in documentary sources. And if in Acts Luke followed the same method as he tells us he used in the gospel, then the probability is that he used all the sources he could lay hands on."

The Chronology of Old Testament History.—This is one of the features of Bible study most widely and persistently misunderstood. Ussher's attempt at chronology which, although obsolete, still stands on the margins of the Bibles commonly used, is generally regarded as a chronology which the text itself clearly furnishes, and as therefore of equal authority with the text. It is true that the text furnishes some figures—not *dates*, of which there are none at all—for a chronology of Old Testament times, but not with completeness, exactness or even entire trustworthiness. The order of events, and their relation to each other, is a more important matter upon which the Old Testament text throws more light, but that is not chronology. There is at present no perfect agreement among scholars as to a scheme of dates for the events of Old Testament history prior to the ninth century. The state of the problem, and some of the conjectural dates, are well set forth by a paragraph in the *Sunday School Times* for October 12: "There is no statement in the Bible to the effect that the year 4000 B. C. was 'soon after the founding of the human race.' 'Bible chronology' is a misnomer, for there is no system of chronology specifically set forth in the Bible. What is commonly understood to be Bible chronology is in the main Ussher's calculations, which have been given a place in the margin of our English Bibles. The earlier portion of these calculations is based on the references to the ages of the patriarchs in the recension or critical revision of the Hebrew text from which our English version

was translated; but these ages are given differently in the Septuagint, or ancient Greek translation of the Old Testament, in the Samaritan Pentateuch, and again in the Masoretic Hebrew text from which our English Bible is translated. These differences amount in the aggregate to fourteen or fifteen centuries, as prior to the time of Abram's leaving Haran. Hence it is agreed by all scholars that there cannot be a common agreement on this point while we have no fuller information than these conflicting records as to times and dates of events in the early Bible story. The essential thing to have in mind is, that the Bible gives no clew to the age of the world, nor indeed to specific dates prior to the call of Abraham. What light future discovery from extra-biblical sources may throw upon the chronology of the early chapters of Genesis, the future only can tell. . . . Professor McCurdy puts the Exodus about 1200 B. C., while the older traditions assigned it to about 1500 B. C. Of late it has been usual to estimate it about 1320 B. C. . . . But the farther back we go, the less can we hope to establish a chronology, and the more evident is it that God had no intention of revealing it."

The Walls of Jericho.—If, as may perhaps be assumed, there are many who question whether the narrative of the falling down of the walls of Jericho at the blast of the ram's-horn trumpets, taken in its literal sense, describes that event precisely as it happened, what theories may be held of the physical cause of their fall, and of the origin, from a purely human point of view, of our present narrative? Confining the inquiry to the narrative, we discover that it is assigned by the critics to the document formed by the union of J and E, both of which are supposed to date from about the eighth or ninth century B.C., or some six hundred years after the event described. How were the facts preserved during this period, and what were the sources of our author's information? He may have used older documents, or he may have taken the story direct from the mouth of popular tradition. It is conceivable that, like Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who extracted a history of Troy from the cyclic poems, our author has hardened into history what was originally only high poetry. The supposition agrees well with his procedure in Josh. 10:12-14, where the miracle of the lengthened day appears to rest upon a misunderstanding of the poet's meaning.

To render the view here presented entirely acceptable, we need some evidence that the story of Jericho was told in song. We do not know the full contents of the Book of Jashar. Besides the description of Joshua's battle with the five kings, at which the sun and moon metaphorically stopped to gaze in wonder, it contained the Song of the Bow (2 Sam. 1:18), and according to an emendation of the Septuagint text following 1 Kings 8:53, the words of Solomon at the dedication of the temple. A book which described one of Joshua's victories may well have mentioned the other. That the battle with the five kings and the fall of Jericho are alike preceded by a divine

promise of victory (6:2; 10:8), may serve to confirm the view that both accounts were derived from the same source, viz., the poems of Jashar.

Another solution may be had by following a hint from Maimonides. That learned Jewish commentator is quoted by Burder, in his notes to Whiston's *Josephus*, as saying that, "Whosoever saw the walls sunk deep in the earth would clearly discern that this was not the form of a building destroyed by man, but miraculously thrown down by God." Maimonides must have understood by the walls falling down flat, that they sank into the earth,—an interpretation possibly sanctioned by the text. *Tachath*, the word rendered "flat," is said in the margin of the authorized version to have the signification of "under;" in the margin of the Revised Version, "in its place;" thus apparently making the text mean that the walls went down *in their place*, or *under*, and justifying the interpretation of Maimonides, that they sank into the ground. If this be granted, we have a clue to the origin of the narrative. Excavations about the place led to the discovery of the ruins of ancient walls, which, appearing to have been sunk into the ground, though in reality only covered with *débris*, generated the belief that here had been the scene of a miracle. The two theories may easily be united into a single view, according to which the buried walls furnished the basis of a poetical description of their sinking, which in its turn became the source of our present narrative.

Estelline, S. D.

CHARLES L. ABBOTT.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

GENERAL NOTES.

A new field for the Club Course has been found in connection with schools and colleges. The fact that the courses in this department run from October to June and cover a period of four years makes them especially suited to such work. In some cases they have been introduced by the faculty, and in others by the students in their Christian Association work.

Among the schools and colleges where classes are now in progress are Leland Stanford University, the University of California, Vassar College, Woman's College of the Northwestern University, the University of Chicago, the Woman's College of Nashville, Tenn., Hardy School, Duluth, Minn., and Lake Erie Seminary, Painesville, Ohio. The courses are found especially helpful in institutions where there is no regular biblical instructor, the work being so carefully planned for the student that almost any member of a college faculty or even a bright student can conduct a course satisfactorily.

An unusual feature of the club work this year is noticed in the *size* of the clubs, the average membership of those thus far enrolled being over thirty. Several clubs of forty, fifty, and even sixty members, have reported.

The South Dakota Christian Endeavor Union passed the following resolution at its recent annual convention: "Resolved, that we heartily commend increasing the interest in systematic Bible study through the organization of Bible clubs of the American Institute of Sacred Literature."

Rev. C. M. Daley, Superintendent of the Missionary Department of the Congregational Sunday School and Tract Society, was appointed chairman of a committee of three to introduce the work, and steps have already been taken which will give every society in the state the opportunity to form a Bible club.

The "Normal Class" has come to be a recognized necessity in connection with every Sunday School. Two errors in the introduction of these classes are frequently fallen into, viz., (1) the idea that the class is formed primarily for supply teachers and therefore should study the same lessons as the remainder of the school one week in advance; (2) that they should study *about* the Bible, its form, character, books, etc.

Pedagogically, the Normal Class should be composed of persons who are willing to take, with a view to teaching, a systematic course of Bible study, running over three or four years, embracing at least an outline study of the contents of the entire Bible. The members of this class should be called upon as seldom as possible for teaching until they have completed their course. They will then be better able to teach any part of the Bible than nine-tenths of those who are now forced into service as supplies, or even as regular teachers. Four such classes have been formed during the past month in Chicago churches, and the four years' course of the Institute has been adopted.

A notable class of this kind has been in existence in New Haven, Conn., for several years. It is under the general leadership of Mr. J. B. Underwood. This year in addition to three divisions carrying on lines of work in the English Bible, a section will devote itself to the study of Hebrew, using the instruction sheets of the Institute.

A course of lectures under the joint auspices of the University Extension Department of the University of Chicago and the Institute, is now in progress. The general subject is the History of Prophecy. The following are the more specific subjects: 1. Events, Stories, Sermons, Predictions: The Contents of Prophecy; Definitions; Literature. 2. Prophetic Situations, viz., Amos, Isaiah, Zephaniah; The Principles of Prophecy. 3. Periods in the History of Prophecy; Classification of Prophetic Material according to those Periods. 4. Prophecy before Israel's Occupation of Canaan. 5. Prophecy during the Time of the United Kingdom. 6. Prophecy of the Northern Kingdom. 7. Prophecy of Isaiah and his Contemporaries. 8. Prophecy of Jeremiah and his Contemporaries. 9. Prophecy of the Babylonian Captivity. 10. Prophecy of the Restoration. 11. The Last Days of Prophecy. 12. The Prophetic Work as a Whole. The lectures are given on Sunday afternoon at the University of Chicago, and on Monday at noonday in Steinway Hall in the city. Some fifteen hundred people in all attended the first lecture given Sunday and Monday October 13 and 14.

The inquiry often comes to the Institute headquarters, "How is the work supported?" The following list of friends who contributed to the work of the year 1894-5 will indicate the source of a portion of the income: William E. Dodge, New York City; J. G. Batterson, Hartford, Conn.; Cyrus H. McCormick, Chicago; Rev. John H. Barrows, Chicago; Professor Albion W. Small, Chicago; President E. Benjamin Andrews, Providence, R. I.; Rev. Arthur Brooks, New York City; Rev. David Greer, New York City; Francis Lynd Stetson, New York City; Reuben Knox, Plainfield, N. J.; Jas. L. Houghteling, Chicago; Rev. F. W. Gunsaulus, Chicago; Rev. A. K. Parker, Chicago; Rev. Thos. C. Hall, Chicago; Jesse A. Baldwin, Chicago; Willard A. Smith, Chicago; Mrs. S. F. Adkins, Indianapolis, Ind.; Fletcher Ingalls,

M.D., Chicago; Professor and Mrs. Geo. Palmer, Cambridge, Mass.; Rev. F. T. Gates, New York City; Professor Ernest D. Burton, Chicago; Rev. D. Stuart Dodge, New York City; President William R. Harper, Chicago.

The need of the organization is becoming more apparent with every hour, and the subscriptions to the work should be doubled in number and amount if all is to be accomplished which the times demand. If this brief mention, therefore, meets the eye of any who might be interested in becoming patrons of so great a work, a note of such names to the principal may prove very helpful.

THE BIBLE STUDENT'S READING GUILD.

Topics for Discussion at Chapter Meetings:

1. The Jewish Sanhedrin.
2. The Law, and its relation to the daily life of the Jew.
3. The services of the Temple and the Synagogue.
4. Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes.—Distinctive beliefs and customs.
5. Current Messianic ideals in the time of Jesus.
6. The influence of the Synagogue in the spread of Christianity.
7. The doctrines of Socrates and Plato compared with Christianity.
8. A comparison of Stoicism and Christianity.
9. A comparison of the practical results of the Heathen and the Christian religions of the first century in the moral life of individuals and communities.
10. Readings from Seneca.
11. The history of the Jews from the point of view of their religion.
12. The Day of Pentecost,—the events, Peter's Sermon, the immediate results.
13. The manner of life of the Christians in this early and somewhat prosperous period.
14. The early persecutions,—their source, their effect upon the spread of the new belief.
15. The first steps toward making the Church an organized body.
16. Stephen,—the man, the preacher, the martyr.
17. The attitude of the Christian Community in relation to ceremonial observances, the Jewish Law, the Temple, the Synagogue, admission to the community, gifts, etc.
18. Peter as an apologist and speaker,—his influence, his theology.

Work and Workers.

A NEW work by Dr. Stalker is published by the American Tract Society, bearing the title, *The Two St. Johns of the New Testament*.

TWO useful articles have recently been contributed to the *Sunday School Times* by Professor W. M. Ramsay, treating of *The Book of Acts in the Light of Recent Discovery*.

AN ably prepared and attractively illustrated article upon *Religious Journalism and Journalists* appeared in the October number of the *Review of Reviews*. The author is George P. Morris.

THE Open Court Publishing Company of Chicago has done an unexpected but a very good thing in publishing *The Prophets of Israel—Popular Sketches from Old Testament History*, by the well-known German scholar, Professor C. H. Cornill.

THE second year's issue of the Theological Translation Library, edited by Drs. Cheyne and Bruce and published by Messrs. Williams & Norgate, London, is to contain the following three volumes: Weizsäcker's *Apostolic Age*, Vol. II, Hermann's *The Communion of the Christian with God*, and Kittel's *History of the Hebrews*, Vol. II.

A VERSION of the New Testament in broad Scotch dialect, the work of the Rev. William Wye Smith, will soon be published by Funk & Wagnalls, New York. Such a work is of no great critical or interpretative value, but is a labor of love which will bring out new beauties of the revered book to many a devout Scotch heart, especially if it be in a far country where the old accents of the native tongue are seldom heard.

THE Revision Committee who issued the Revised Version of the New Testament in 1881 and that of the Old Testament in 1885 has now completed and will shortly publish through the Oxford Press a revised translation of the Old Testament Apocryphal Books. This completes their labors, and the fruit thereof becomes daily greater as the people learn to appreciate and use this new and much improved English version of the Bible.

PEOPLE should buy and read Dr. Moxom's Lowell Lectures published by Roberts Bros., Boston, entitled *From Jerusalem to Nicaea—The Church in the First Three Centuries*, not because it is the best work upon the subject, but because it is a good one, and they know so very little about the Church outside of the first century. The history of the Christians from 100 to 325 A.D. is alive with interest and influence for every thinking member of the church.

THE Fall announcements of the London publishing house of Hodder & Stoughton are unusually interesting to biblical scholars. Some of them are *St. Paul the Traveler and the Roman Citizen*, by Professor W. M. Ramsay, D.C.L., LL.D. Two works by Dr. R. W. Dale, one entitled *Christ and the Future Life*, the other, *The Epistle of James, and Other Discourses; The Visions of a Prophet—Studies in Zechariah*, by Professor Dods; *The Seven Words from the Cross*, by Dr. Robertson Nicoll; *The Books of the Twelve Prophets*, by Dr. George Adam Smith; *The God-Man*, by Dr. T. C. Edwards; *The Book of Deuteronomy*, by Professor Andrew Harper.

IN reply to an inquirer in the *Expository Times*, Thomas Nicol of Edinburgh recommends the following books as containing the latest and most reliable information on the positive results of archæological research in relation to the Old Testament: *The Bible and the Monuments—Primitive Hebrew Records*, by W. St. Chad Boscawen (Eyre & Spottiswood, 1895); *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, by A. H. Sayce (Soc. Prom. Chn. Knowledge, 1894); *History of Egypt*, by W. M. Flinders Petrie (Methuen, 1894); *Geschichte des alten Morgenlandes*, by F. Hommel (Williams & Norgate); *Assyrien und Babylonien*, by Kaulen (Williams & Norgate), and *The Mummy*, by E. A. W. Budge.

A NEW edition, the fourth, of Strack's *Introduction to the Old Testament* has been published in Germany. Eight thousand copies of the work in its first three editions were sold, showing that an unusual value was placed upon it by the public. The new edition is thoroughly revised and brought up to date. It is a small book—119 pages—but contains a great amount of useful material. In addition to the Introduction proper, the work contains chapters upon the Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha, the canon of the Old Testament, the history of the original text and the different ancient and modern versions, and a full bibliography of historical, exegetical and linguistic works upon the Old Testament.

THE announcement will be received with enthusiasm by New Testament students and scholars everywhere that we are soon to have an edition of the gospels in the original in which the parallel portions will be set side by side, ready for examination in the study of the problems of gospel criticism. This is what Mr. Rushbrooke's *Synopticon* did and did well, but it was an expensive work and besides it is out of print. Existing Greek "Harmonies" are not at all adequate. Rev. Arthur Wright, M.A., Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, a scholar well fitted for the task, has undertaken to get out a work which will accomplish the same end as the *Synopticon*, in a moderate size and at a moderate price. The book is already in the press. It may be hoped that the work will meet the need of scholars in this line, a need which has become fairly clamorous.

THE Colportage Association of the Chicago Bible Institute has been organized by Mr. D. L. Moody. Its purpose is: "(1) To supply good literature at a price within the reach of all; (2) to carry the gospel, by means of the printed page, into neglected and frontier towns where church privileges are wanting; (3) to supply pastors and other Christian workers with helpful books, not too expensive, to give away to young converts and those who are awakened to the realization of their religious needs; (4) to reach non-church-goers; (5) to supply good books at a low rate for free distribution; (6) to provide a profitable means of employment for student canvassers." The books of the association will be published semi-monthly, and will contain the writings of eminent Christian men in various fields. They will be paper-covered, about 125 pages. Single numbers will be fifteen cents; the annual subscription (for twenty-four numbers) is fixed at \$2.25.

AN article upon Professor Harnack, written by the Rev. D. Macfadyen, M.A., appeared in the *Expository Times* for October. It is mainly concerned with the great historian's theological position and deliverances, and an attempt to refute them. The briefer statements of a biographical and personal nature touch upon matters less well known. "Professor Adolf Harnack, of Berlin, is the son of Theodosius Harnack, professor of practical theology in the University of Dorpat. His interest in church history is a clear case of heredity. The father was the author of several pamphlets which deal with subjects since handled by his better-known son. The son must have found his way very early into the theological atmosphere, which seems now to be the one entirely natural to him. He is still under forty-five, but has already been professor of church history at Giessen and Marburg, and is now at Berlin. His chair is the one made famous by Neander, and he is generally acknowledged to be, as Dr. Schaff called him, 'the ablest of Neander's successors.' As a lecturer he is singularly successful in carrying his audience with him. When the present writer first heard him he was lecturing twice daily, but he scarcely used a note. He was lecturing on early Christian institutions and on the history of dogma,—in one lecture dealing with a mass of details and patristic quotations, and in the next dealing with the abstruse questions of the theology of the Incarnation. It was difficult to say which set of lectures was most full of interest. In one there was an orderly marshaling of facts, and in the other a clearness of exposition which made him easy to follow, even in an unfamiliar tongue. The lecturer was never monotonous in voice, and his face was a constant study as the light and shade of humor and earnestness played upon it. He had a curious habit of driving his points home with a smile and a touch of sarcasm. But the most abiding impression left by his lecturing, as by his writing, is that of great clearness and decision."

Book Reviews.

The Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles—Restored to its original state from various sources, with an introduction, translation and notes, by CHARLES H. HOOLE, M.A., student of Christ Church, Oxford, London. David Nutt, 270-271 Strand; 1894, 90 pp., 12mo, 2s. 6d.

So often and so admirably has the teaching of the apostles been edited and annotated since its discovery by Bryennius that there should scarcely be a warrant for another edition, unless it contained some new and valuable material, throwing more light on some hitherto obscure passages of the text and enlarging our knowledge of the time and circumstances in which the original tract was written. Is this the case with the present book? An introduction of some forty-three pages gives, in a condensed form, what Harnack, Harris and others have years ago given us in their editions. The sources which Hoole prints in full are all contained in these editions with additional exhaustive critical remarks, not found in Hoole's book. The genealogy which he constructs for the text, differing somewhat from that proposed by Harnack, Warfield and others is as follows: The original teaching of the apostles composed most likely before the end of the first century was embodied partly in the Shepherd of Hermas and the epistle attributed to Barnabas. A little later it was included in the apostolic constitutions, and yet later the editor of the epitome of the Holy Apostles endeavored to complete the notion of a Didache of the Apostles by giving the names of the apostles themselves, and referring each precept to its author. These four forms of the apostolic teaching, or, at any rate, the first three of them, were in the hands of the anonymous writer of the treatise known as "The Didache of the Apostles," who compiled and abridged from them the work that we now possess as the Didache, giving in a condensed form what had previously existed in a number of other works, with a view to supplying a manual of conduct, based on the actual teaching of the apostles themselves, and adding some formulæ, possibly belonging to an earlier period than his own, for the administration of the sacraments and the appointment and maintenance of ministers and church officers. This theory in a slightly different form has been advanced by others, and final judgment must be suspended until further evidence is adduced. The introduction is followed by the text of Bryennius, Hoole's restoration, translation and a few pages of notes. In the text of Bryennius Hoole marked in brackets such passages as are not found in any of the three or four works referred to in the preface; cross references to these works are conveniently given on the margin. In his restoration the editor endeavored to replace what he supposed might have been found in the

original *didache* by giving the names of the apostles, and bringing the work a little more into the form used at the assumed period, by supplying a commencement and conclusion in the style of the second century. Whether the restored text offered was indeed the original, can neither be denied nor affirmed. Hoole may be right, he is probably wrong. The translation into English is very smooth and forcible, containing, here and there, a new rendering of a hitherto misunderstood passage. This is the chief attraction of the book, together with its neat appearance and the moderate price. For the average reader, who has neither time nor inclination to study the editions of Harnack and Harris, or the compilation of Schaff, this little book contains everything needful to an intelligent appreciation of the importance of our text.

W. M.-A.

Deuterographs: Duplicate passages in the Old Testament, their bearing on the Text and Compilation of the Hebrew Scriptures. By ROBERT B. GIRDLESTONE, M.A., Honorary Canon of Christ Church, and formerly Principal of Wycliffe Hall, etc. Oxford: Clarendon Press; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co., 1894. Pages xxxii + 172, also 76 pages of book catalogue.

There is universal agreement on this one thing at least in biblical study, namely, that the Books of Samuel and Kings are duplicated in many passages by Chronicles. The significance of this fact for the study of biblical history and for a textual study of these books is very great. It is possible to determine the textual relationship of these parallels, and to estimate their possible relations to a common source from which they were compiled. This book follows in the main the text of the R. V., changing the same only where a convenient arrangement of the parallel columns demands it. The presentation to the eye, of the likeness and unlikeness between Samuel and Kings on the one hand and Chronicles on the other, is very plain, and suggests at once to the reader some interesting problems. The author names the first column, representing Samuel and Kings, A, and the Chronicles column, B. Some of the variations between these texts are startling. They reveal additions, omissions and variations of several kinds. Some are simply those of spelling, others are apparently dialectical changes either verbal or grammatical. Still others are paraphrastic, or such as to disclose corruption or variations in the text of the Hebrew. This latter is quite striking in amount, even ere the literary material is substantially the same.

These points, however, are not of more interest than those of historical criticism. In a careful study of these parallel columns we are somewhat initiated into the methods of compilations adopted by Hebrew writers. Their purpose dominates their method, and the existence of the same events in other literature modifies their results. Who were these compilers and what

was their original text? Shall we lay all the fault of variations on the original writers? or shall we attribute it to late copyists? How many of them were unintentional? and how many were deliberate, if not systematic? Because two texts apparently contradict each other are we to charge the same to the sources of those texts? or to the carelessness or ignorance of the compilers? or to our ignorance of the complete background of the narrative?

Again, if the compilers of Kings and Chronicles made use of various documents usually referred to in preparing their history, how far may we infer that other books were made up on the same plan? Is it certain that some compilers did not quote their sources, but simply patched their work together without much order or consistency? These are some of the numerous questions which crowd in upon the reader of this little book. The textual notes at the bottom of the page are a good feature, but those who would use them are as a rule students who would prefer to make comparison of Hebrew texts. The volume is supplied with an index of texts for ready reference. One feature, however, of the bound volume cannot be too severely censured. It is an imposition on the book-buying public for publishers to insert more than a few pages of advertisements in the back of their books. But here the Clarendon Press has insulted the goodwill and forbearance of its patrons by inserting and binding in with 204 pages of permanently valuable material, just *seventy-six* pages of book catalogue. Every buyer of this volume must either mar his book by tearing out the catalogue, or else carry on his shelves these seventy-six pages of room-taking trash. This method carried on by several English book-houses cannot be too sharply criticised.

PRICE.

How to Read the Prophets: Being the Prophecies arranged chronologically in their historical Setting, with Explanations and Glossary. By the REV. BUCHANAN BLAKE, B.D. Part V. Isaiah (xl-lxvi) and the post-Exilian Prophets. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1895. Pages, 246. Price \$1.50.

With this volume Mr. Blake concludes his series of "How to Read the Prophets" in chronological order. This part contains Isaiah xl.-lxvi., Daniel Haggai, Zechariah i.-viii. and Malachi. They are treated uniformly with the former volumes of the series, viz., first, the text, in the author's translation, arranged in chronological order; secondly, the historical setting of the same texts, with running explanations. New or difficult words are printed in heavy-faced type, which is a finger-point to a glossary at the end of the book, where all such puzzles are explained. In the arrangement of the text, the author gives no arguments for the positions which he takes. But as he is writing for laymen his word is supposed to be taken as final. It is quite as necessary for

intelligent laymen, in America at least, as for the large number of ministers, to know the reasons for the variations and innovations of the author. Lack of space is no sufficient excuse, as a few footnotes in fine print could mention every valid argument for the new positions taken. Isaiah xl.-lxvi. is located in the exile without reserve. Sections regarded by Smith (G. A.) and others as pre-exilic, and by Cheyne as post-exilic, are indiscriminately placed in this period. He locates in his chronological order Isaiah 54 before 53. He cannot forbear, in his narrative treatment, the temptation occasionally to moralize (*cf.* pp. 155 and 219) on the text under discussion. The Book of Daniel, 1-6, while describing events in Daniel's day did not originate, he *thinks* (does not know it), p. 159, until about 168-164 B.C. Daniel, says he, is not among the prophets in the Jewish Canon (p. 160). But what is the Jewish Canon, and how far back does it reach into the past? The Septuagint, worth infinitely more than mere tradition, names Daniel immediately in connection with Ezekiel. On p. 161 he seems to be in doubt about the date of the first captivity, though he has just read Dan. 1 : 1. We also note that the second kingdom is the Median (p. 216) though the school which Mr. Blake follows in his interpretation has no room for Darius the Mede. On p. 223 we find a piece of jugglery with figures, perfectly innocent in itself, but of no value in the interpretation of Daniel. On the whole the work will prove to be of value to readers who have made a careful study of the prophets. It must be used, however, with caution.

PRICE.

The Book of Psalms (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges) with Introduction and Notes. By A. F. KIRKPATRICK, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge; Regius Professor of Hebrew. Books II. and III., Psalms xlii.-lxxxix. Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895. Pages lxxx + 223-556. Price \$1.00.

The first thing that meets the reader's eye is the same Introduction that appeared in Vol. I. of this series. Quite a good production, but *one* copy of it is enough, or all that most readers can afford to give shelf-room. Will volume III. contain the same? We hope not. Then when we turn to the exposition proper we find the pagination continuous from Vol. I. What does this mean? The volumes each independent books and still dependent! These irregularities are confusing to the student. The matter of this exposition gives evidences of careful investigation by the author. By tests here and there we can form some idea of his general position. Psalms 44, 74 and 79, which are made Maccabean by those who find any such in the Psalter, are referred by the author to the early dates. He sees that they fit better the early times as we know them, than the later times which we do not know. The superiority of such popular commentaries on the Psalms, as Perowne and Maclaren (Expositors' Bible) set a difficult task before Professor Kirkpatrick. His results will be valuable to laymen who have no other critical work on

the Psalms, but for scholars and specialists in biblical study they do not supersede the valuable work of Perowne or of Delitzsch. His translations, in bold-faced types, are usually fortified by the battlements of Hebrew learning, though there is occasionally room for difference of opinion. The author's work is well "up to date." The mechanical execution of the book is uniform with the other volumes in the series. PRICE.

Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte von Lic. theol. OSKAR HOLTZMANN. J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig, 1895. Pp. viii., 260 octavo. Price, Marks, 4.50.

It is seldom that so much good material is got so well into so small a compass as in this volume. It cannot indeed be affirmed that the quality has not suffered by the excessive condensation, but it is surprising that the injury has not been far greater. Professor Holtzmann has succeeded in producing a book which is small enough to be accurately described as a manual, and yet comprehensive enough to give an instructive survey of the subject. The contents are arranged under four heads: (1) a long introduction defining the theme and reviewing authorities; (2) the historical basis of the New Testament literature; (3) the forms of Jewish life in the time of the New Testament; (4) the religious notions of the Jews in the New Testament age. The work runs parallel in the main to the *magnum opus* of Professor Schürer, but our author claims to have gone further than his predecessor and master in that he gives prominence to the relation between Hellenism and early Christianity. The very interesting part of the introduction which treats of the sources for the history of the internal development of the Jewish people is on the whole capably written. It goes too far afield however. The Book of Job (which is oddly grouped with Tobit and Judith), Proverbs, and Esther can hardly be included among the sources of New Testament history. And too much attention is given to relatively unimportant writings. Three pages, for instance, are occupied by a summary of the Pseudo-Phocylides, whilst the far more notable Wisdom of Solomon gets barely two. That nearly one-fourth of the section is devoted to Philo is not surprising as Professor Holtzmann believes that a cultivated Jew about the beginning of our era differed but little from a cultivated Christian of the second century. The bibliographical notes are characterized by German forgetfulness of works published in English. No mention is made, for example, of the edition of Enoch by Mr. Charles or of that of the Psalms of Solomon by Professor Ryle. The chapter on geography contains several unguarded statements. It is not fair to represent Luke as stating that the five thousand were fed *in* the city of Bethsaida (Luke 9:10 ff.) The context distinctly points at the neighborhood. The remark that the Asiarchs were associated with the worship of Artemis ought to have been accompanied by a reference to the suggestion of Professor Schürer (in Riehm ed. ii. p. 123) that they were connected with the cult of the Cæsars. It is far

from certain that Paul literally fought with wild animals in the amphitheatre of Ephesus (1 Cor. 15:32), or that the Apocalyptic monster was Caligula (Rev. 13:18), yet both of these opinions are asserted as if they were facts which had never been questioned. On the other hand, the conjecture that Bethsaida Julias was named after the wife, not the daughter of Augustus, is worth considering. The chronology of the gospels is based on the synoptists and on patristic evidence. It is therefore supposed that the ministry lasted only one year, beginning in 28 and ending in 29. The chronology of Acts and the Epistles is even more at variance with received ideas. Paul was converted, not in 37 as most believe, but in the summer after the crucifixion. He may have written his first epistle, which was perhaps that to the Galatians, though our author speaks with some hesitation on this point, in 47 A. D. The Roman imprisonment terminated in 58 A. D. It needs scarcely be observed that this chronological scheme rests on very insecure foundations. The most debatable chapter in the book is the last entitled "Hellenistic Influence on Jewish Religion." In his enthusiasm for Hellenic culture Professor Holtzmann overlooks its defects, fails to do justice to some Old Testament passages, and ignores the Oriental religions with which Judaism came in contact, especially Zoroastrianism. When he contends that the teaching of the New Testament about the imitation of God, the divine care for individuals and the brute creation, body and spirit, and future retribution were strongly affected by Greek influence; when he maintains that belief in the latter came up among the Jews only in the second century B. C., and that through the silent working of Greek thought, he cannot expect judicious students to follow him. The book is well indexed and on the whole well printed, but there are some provoking errata.

W. T. S.

Current Literature.

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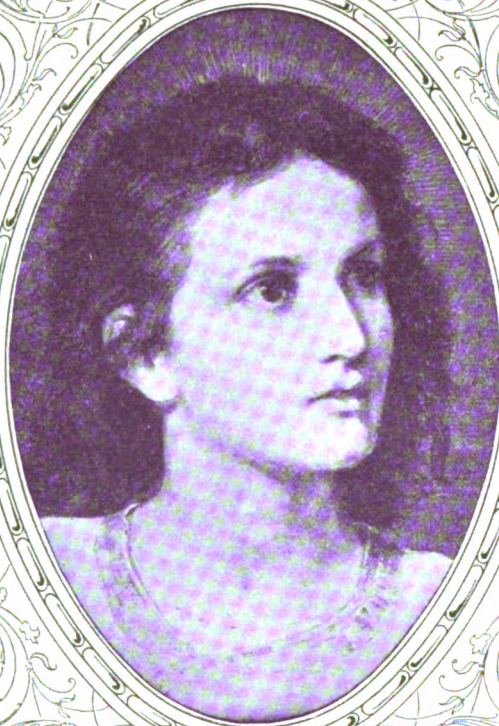
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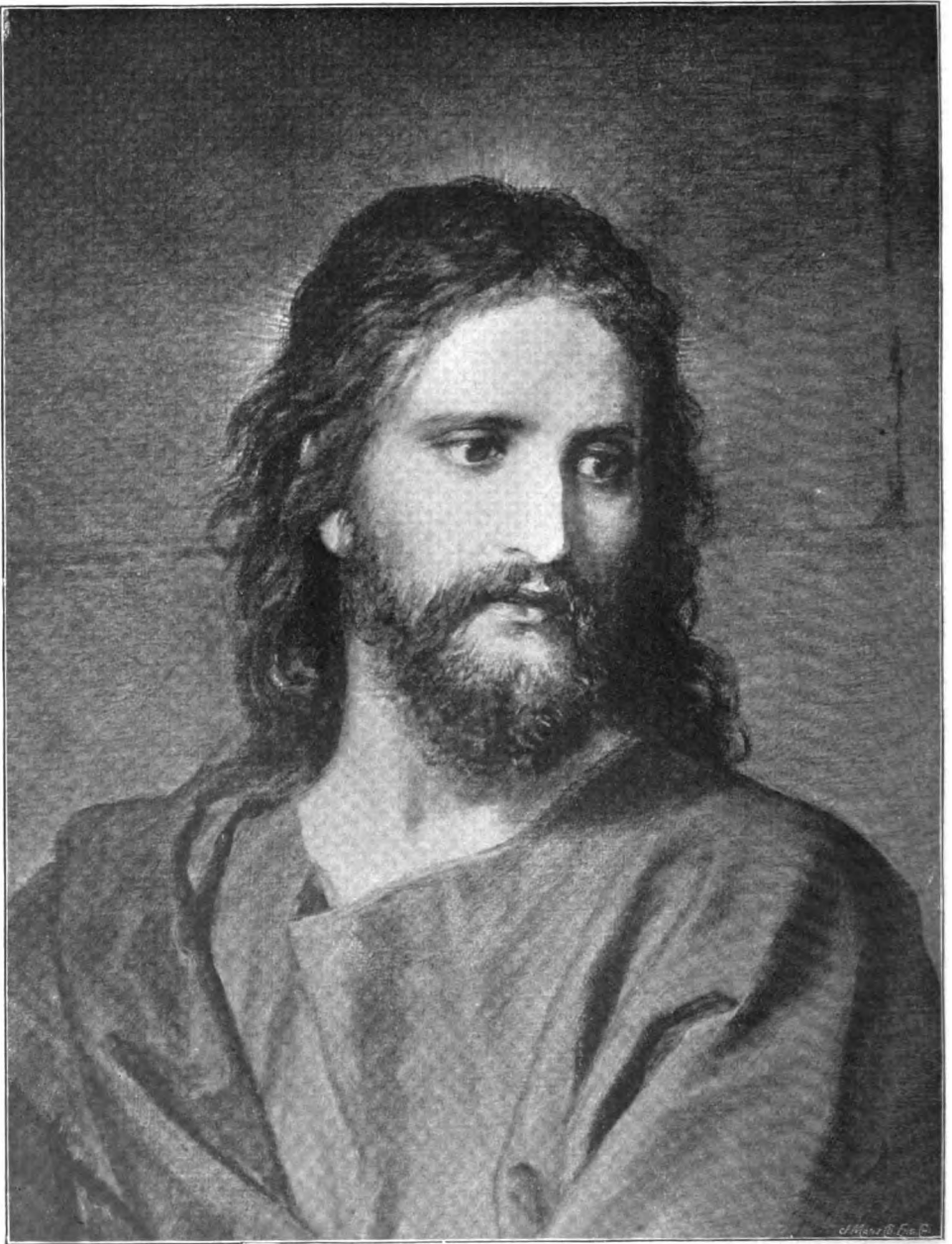
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CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME VI.

DECEMBER, 1895

NUMBER 6

FORESHADOWINGS OF THE CHRIST IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago.

THE Greeks stood alone among the nations of the earth in their appreciation of the beautiful; the Romans in their interest and skill in organization. The Hebrew nation stood alone in its overwhelming sense of the heinousness of sin. This thought controlled all their thoughts. Finding themselves in the midst of sorrow, wretchedness, and death, all of which are the result of sin, they began in the earliest periods to look for *deliverance*. The idea of the character of sin was implanted in the Hebrew heart for a purpose. This purpose, as it developed, revealed the divine plan for man's relief from the consequences of sin. In a study of these thoughts and utterances which look forward to the Christ, one must consider the subject from the point of view not only of the divine plan, but also of the human expectation. Israelitish history, wrought out according to a divine purpose to furnish a basis for the development of the plan, falls into several distinct divisions, each division marked by certain great characteristics.

1. Recalling the history of Abraham, the patriarchs who follow him, the residence in Egypt, the exodus, the giving of the law, the wandering in the wilderness, the death of Moses, and

the conquest, we may ask: How definite at the time of Moses' death had the expectation of this deliverance become? and how definite at this time were the promises which had been made from heaven? The destiny of man as a ruler of the world is fully appreciated, as well as the endowment given him by God through which his destiny may be attained, namely, creation in the image of God.¹ The nature of the conflict between man and the powers of evil has become apparent. The struggle will continue for ages, but in the end the woman's seed shall be victorious over the seed of the serpent, though receiving injury in the conflict.² The necessity of the close indwelling of God in the midst of men is appreciated, and men believe that God will in a special manner take up his dwelling in the tents of Shem.³ It is evident that in the successful prosecution of the plan, one nation from all the nations of the earth must be selected, guided, and educated, and it is believed by the Hebrew nation that their ancestor Abraham was thus selected,⁴ and that to him a promise was made of a country and a great posterity through which the world shall be blessed. A tradition also exists to the effect that this blessing was transmitted from Abraham to Isaac, from Isaac to Jacob,⁵ and that from the sons of Jacob, Judah was selected to be the leader; his supremacy to continue until the conquest of the promised land.⁶ As time passes on and Israel, having left Egypt, becomes a nation, the feeling gains ground that Israel, in order to accomplish her work, shall be a kingdom of priests.⁷ Balaam, hired to preach against Israel, sees the nation, with the insignia of royalty, destroying her enemies round about.⁸ If the Israelitish nation as a nation is to be a mediator to nations, it soon becomes apparent that for this work a special order of men should be set aside,—the priestly order.⁹ In order that the nation may be guided aright, and not be compelled to resort to necromancers and wizards, there shall be raised up from time to time prophets who shall speak to them the law of God.¹⁰ More than

¹ Gen. 1:26-30.⁵ Gen. 27:27-29.⁹ Num. 25:12, 13.² Gen. 3:14, 15.⁶ Gen. 49:8-12.¹⁰ Deut. 18:15-19.³ Gen. 9:25-27.⁷ Ex. 19:3-6.⁴ Gen. 11:26-12:3.⁸ Num. 24:17-19.

this, Israel, in order to perform properly her mission among the nations of the earth, must, like other nations, have a king, a royal king.¹ The thought of the period, therefore, seems to have connected itself with the line through which the deliverance is to be wrought; the land in which the great drama of deliverance is to be played; the means of deliverance, namely, the chosen people, and the special agencies by which the chosen people shall effect the divine purpose, a priestly order, a prophetic order, and a royal order.

2. In the period of Samuel, Saul, David, and Solomon, the idea of royalty is uppermost in the minds of the people. A monarchy is established. The king who shall sit upon the throne represents Jehovah; he is, however, subordinate, not only to Jehovah, but to Jehovah's messenger, the prophet. In this period the temple is erected and Jehovah is understood to take up his dwelling in the temple, a great advance upon the dwelling in the tents of Shem.² The promise is made that David's seed shall be established upon David's throne and that he shall be, indeed, the son of God as beforetime Israel had been called God's son.³ The king with Jehovah at his side shall rule over Zion. His army, made up of countless youth, shall march as volunteers under his banner. Guided by Jehovah he will win the victory upon the blood-drenched, corpse-covered battlefield, and with unrelenting vigor will pursue the conquered and defeated enemy.⁴ His reign will be characterized by peace and mercy; it will be universal and everlasting.⁵ The whole thought of the period turns upon the idea of the king; and what could be more natural, in this early age, and at a time in which the thought which filled the minds of all the people was that of an earthly kingdom. The king described in this ideal manner did not come in the period in which he was expected. When at last he did come, he was not the king that had been described. He was, however, something greater than even Israel's prophetic vision had foretold.

3. In the southern kingdom after the division there is little or no prophetic impulse. Here the monarchy and the priesthood

¹ Deut. 17 : 14-20.

³ 2 Samuel 7 : 11-16; Ps. 18 : 43-50.

² Ps. 24.

⁴ Ps. 110.

⁵ Ps. 72.

were supreme and the visions of the prophets were rare. In the northern kingdom, however, after a century or so, there begins a prophetic activity which is most marked. Elijah, with a sternness and severity almost indescribable, bewails the apostacy of his times.¹ Elisha, beneficent and courteous, endeavors by diplomacy to advance the interests of the kingdom.² The schools of the prophets, founded back in the times of Samuel, are greatly strengthened, and their work certainly assists in promulgating a truer conception of the Jehovah religion.³ At this time, likewise, Jonah makes his trip to Nineveh and by his preaching of the word brings Nineveh to repentance.⁴ But in all this work the sins of the times and the profligacy of the period are dwelt upon, and, seemingly, the prophets have little strength left with which to picture the ideals of the future. Amos preaches sermon after sermon upon the text "Punishment for sin."⁵ He publishes vision after vision, all of which foretell the coming of judgment and destruction upon the people.⁶ His prophetic eye, however, sees beyond the coming of the Assyrian army and the devastation which it shall work, and in the far distant future he beholds the tent of David which has been broken down, again restored;⁷ the holy land full of harvests and consequent prosperity, Israel gathered again from the four corners of the earth and restored to home. Hosea sees as clearly as did Amos the coming destruction;⁸ he sees also what has not been seen so clearly before, the intense love of Jehovah for his people and his readiness to forgive.⁹ Hosea feels that punishment must come on account of the iniquity of the times; but after this punishment has been executed, he beholds, as did Amos, the restoration of Israel to her land.¹⁰ In all this period there has been slight thought of the deliverance from sin, because the minds of the people are filled with the thought and the need of the deliverance from an immediate calamity. This idea is so close as to drive away the magnificent conceptions of earlier days. On the other hand, it must

¹ 1 Kgs. 17, 18, 19.⁴ Jonah, 1-4.⁷ Amos 9: 11-15.² 2 Kgs. 3, 4, 5.⁵ Amos 1-6.⁸ Hosea 4: 1-19; 8: 1-14³ 2 Kgs. 2, 4, 6.⁶ Amos 7, 8, 9.⁹ Hosea 2: 14-23; 11: 1-11.¹⁰ Hosea 1: 10-2: 1; 2: 19-22; 6: 1-3; 14: 1-5.

be noted that restoration of Israel from captivity is in itself a pledge of the fulfilment of Jehovah's promise, and to this extent the foreshadowing of the great future which lies beyond.

4. The Assyrian times have at last arrived. Isaiah predicts the desolation of Israel, and indicates the sins of the people, which are the occasion of the impending destruction. Yet, beyond this destruction, both he and Micah see the exaltation of the mountain of Jehovah's house, the universal acknowledgment of Jehovah as king, and the introduction of an era of universal peace.¹ When Judah is invaded by Pekah and Rezin, Isaiah announces the coming of a child born of a virgin, whose name shall be called Immanuel;² and before this child shall be able to distinguish good and evil, the Assyrian invasion will have taken place. Somewhat later, when Tiglathpileser carries away captive the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali, and the people of Jerusalem are panic-stricken because of this, the beginning of the fulfilment of the prophecies of destruction, Isaiah preaches³ the coming of light in the midst of darkness; of joy and freedom, instead of grief and captivity; of the abolition of war; and all this because of the child that is yet to be born, whose name is given as the Wonder of a Counselor, God of a Hero, Father of Booty, Prince of Peace. Samaria falls (722 B. C.), in accordance with the prediction of the prophets; but the judgment is not yet finished. Terrible judgments are yet to come, but they will be followed by times of rejoicing, in which those faithful to Jehovah shall no more be ashamed.⁴

Sennacharib now (701 B. C.) appears in Palestine. Though the army is near at hand, the prophet tells of a righteous judge of the line of David who shall rule the nation in peace, and in the knowledge of Jehovah.⁵ Although Hezekiah surrenders to the Assyrian army,⁶ Isaiah repeats his prediction that the enemy will be scattered, and describes the time when the righteous man shall see the king in all his beauty, and shall dwell with him in Zion.⁷ The Assyrian army is smitten with death and Jerusalem

¹ Isa. 2:2-4, Mic. 4:1-5; Isa. 4:2-6.

² Isa. 7:1-25.

⁴ Isa. 28.

⁶ 2 Kgs. 18:14.

³ Isa. 8:16-9:7.

⁵ Isa. 10:5-12:6.

⁷ Isa. 33.

delivered.¹ On the days that follow songs of joy are sung to heaven, celebrating the city of God as a place of safety and peace for the people; a place of beauty and strength; and a wonder to nations.² A cornerstone shall be established in Zion;³ and out of Bethlehem from the line of David shall come a righteous ruler, who shall lead Judah against the Assyrians.⁴

As before, the thought of the nation seems to have exhausted itself in dwelling upon the perplexities of the day, and yet, in contrast with the dark pictures which the prophet presents, he portrays the brightness of the coming future. Isaiah expects to see the coming of deliverance in connection with the Assyrian invasion. The Assyrian army came again and again, and the expectations of the prophet were disappointed. He is continually looking for the birth of a child. At first, in the days of Ahaz, when he predicts the birth of Immanuel, and later the child, whose name shall be called Wonder of a Counselor, and, twenty-five years later, in the days of Hezekiah, when Sennacherib has led his army into Judah. Isaiah's hopes were not destined to be realized in his own days; but centuries later, when the fulness of time had come, the child was born, as different from the picture of Isaiah's child as was the actual character of the king in comparison with the picture of royalty outlined in David's times. The thought, however, was none the less real; and the hope of the coming deliverance lifted up many a follower of Jehovah in his despondency.

5. The next age is that of Jeremiah and the fall of Jerusalem. Zephaniah sees a coming destruction and, beyond it, restoration, prosperity, and honor.⁵ Jeremiah is so occupied with the evils of his times and his own sufferings as to allow little time for the contemplation of the future, and indeed it was difficult even for a prophet of Jehovah to see much that was encouraging in the future. For how could a prophet reconcile himself to the destruction of Jerusalem? And yet Jeremiah is able to do this very thing. In imprisonment he predicts a restoration after the captivity and describes the righteous branch which shall rule in

¹ Isa. 37 : 36, 37.

³ Isa. 28 : 14-18; Ps. 118 : 22, 23.

² Pss. 46, 48.

⁴ Mic. 5 : 1-9.

⁵ Zeph. 3 : 8-20.

righteousness.¹ Under arrest he promises to those about him relief and restoration and a future time of protection, prosperity, and honor.² He preaches of the establishment of a new covenant and the coming of a time when all men shall know Jehovah.³ As truly as Jerusalem shall be destroyed, so surely shall the people of Israel be restored,⁴ and again Jeremiah furnishes promises of Messianic glory.⁵ When Jerusalem is laid waste, there devolves upon the prophet the task of reconciling God's promise of eternal prosperity with the present condition of things. This naturally leads them to the consideration of something higher than the city itself; a dwelling with God more ideal than an actual dwelling in the temple.⁶ The place of the fall of Jerusalem in the history of prophetic thought is most significant.

6. What form does the expectation of deliverance assume when Israel, far from home and native land, finds herself in the Babylonian exile? Ezekiel, on the banks of the Chebar, tells again and again of restoration of the faithful Israel;⁷ the resurrection of dry bones;⁸ the reunion of the northern and southern Israel.⁹ This indeed is the only note of encouragement which a prophet could preach, for how can there be fulfilment of any of the promises of the past unless first Israel is restored to her native land. Can we put ourselves in the position of the faithful Jews in captivity? While living in Jerusalem before its destruction, they were loyal to the worship of Jehovah, having never been guilty of idolatry. Yet, notwithstanding this faithfulness on their part they are now in captivity. Their sufferings are intense since they are driven away from home and deprived of the opportunity to worship their God. Their brethren, on every side, reproach them because of the inability of the God whom they serve to relieve their sufferings. Their anguish is increased because they believe this suffering to have been sent upon them by God. Why has he deserted them? Why has he driven them away and placed them in the power of their enemies? Have they sinned against him? No. Why was

¹Jer. 23: 1-8.⁴Jer. 32.⁷Ezek. 11: 14-20; 17: 22-24.²Jer. 30: 3-22.⁵Jer. 33.⁸Ezek. 37: 1-14.³Jer. 31.⁶Pss. 89, 132.⁹Ezek. 37: 15-28.

their property distributed to their enemies? Had they been faithless to Jehovah? No. What then is the occasion of their sufferings? *The sins of the nation as a whole*. It is because Israel abandoned Jehovah that Israel is now in captivity. They are then suffering because of the sins of others and not because of their own sins. The Israelites who were faithless to Jehovah suffer little on account of the captivity. They did not care for the temple worship or Jehovah; they are well situated in Babylon. Their souls are not tried because Jehovah has abandoned them, since they had first abandoned Jehovah. The real sufferers are those who were faithful. But what is to be the outcome? It is necessary that these faithful ones continue to suffer with those who have sinned and because of their sins, in order that the future may bring a fulfilment of the great promises of Jehovah. If in their distress they turn away from Jehovah, there will be no remnant to whom the promise may be fulfilled. They suffer, therefore, in order to secure future blessings to those who shall follow them. This suffering remnant is the servant of Jehovah; the agent through which a new religion is to be introduced into the world. The nation Israel includes the servant and is sometimes represented as the servant. The prophet in the midst of the captivity predicts that this servant shall be exalted very high.² He realizes, however, that preceding this exaltation there is and will be a humiliation. The servant sent to carry to the world the message of its deliverance from sin is not recognized, since no one believes the report which has been given of him and no one sees in his coming the indication of the power of Jehovah. Why is he not recognized? Because he has grown up as a sucker, that is, something superfluous; as a root out of dry ground, that is, without juice or sap; with no comeliness or beauty; and consequently he was despised and deserted. This was the estimation in which he was held by those about him who did not understand his mission. The real fact in the case was that he suffered, but only for the sins of others, and indeed, for the sins of those very persons who, in their blindness, regarded him as stricken with leprosy. It was

² Isa. 52:11-53:12.

they who had gone astray while on him the iniquity was laid. In all this suffering, though treated rigorously, there was no complaint. Though treated unjustly, his contemporaries did not see that he was suffering for his people. His end was an inglorious one. But in return for the sufferings of the servant, God had proposed to prolong his days and accomplish through him a divine work. He, the servant, will render many righteous; he will receive great reward; he will be treated as a conqueror. Thus the great thought of the exile should be interpreted; but the return and the restoration of spiritual Israel to Jerusalem as a reward of faithfulness, did not exhaust the thought; it is an ideal description, which includes the suffering servant who, centuries later, was to do for all men and all time what the faithful remnant of Israel did for the times of captivity.

The assurance is given that the redemption long ago promised shall surely come.¹ Israel, in spite of her sins, shall be delivered,² Jehovah cannot forget Zion; consequently she shall be restored.³ The whole present situation shall be changed and the future will bring a period of peace.⁴ The time is coming when men everywhere will accept Jehovah;⁵ when the new Jerusalem will be adorned and decorated;⁶ when there will be a new heaven and a new earth.⁷ These representations show conclusively that the prophets have detached the ideal future from the local Jerusalem. The new era which Isaiah expected in his day, which Jeremiah predicted would come at the close of the seventy years of captivity, is not ushered in with the restoration of the faithful remnant to Jerusalem. This may be understood as a token of the deliverance still in the future, but it is by no means the deliverance which the prophets had expected, and so Daniel in the last days of the captivity postpones the coming of this glorious time still later by seventy weeks.⁸

7. When, under Zerubbabel, the Jews return to Jerusalem, work is begun at once upon the temple. But after laying the foundation it stops. Some years later, urged by Haggai they

¹ Isa. 45:21-25.

⁴ Isa. 54:1-17.

⁷ Isa. 65:17-25.

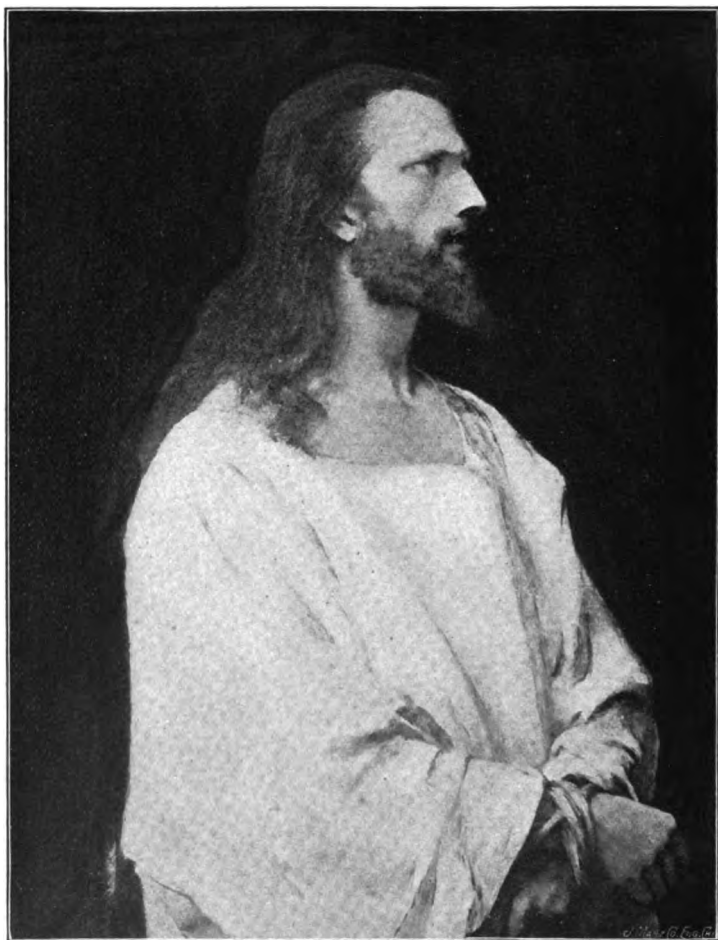
² Isa. 48:17-22.

⁵ Isa. 56:6, 7.

⁸ Dan. 9:24-27; 12:1-3, 10-13.

³ Isa. 49:14-23.

⁶ Isa. 62:1-12.



THE REDEEMER.

From Munkacsy's Christ before Pilate.

take up again the building of the temple and in connection with his exhortations Haggai predicts an impending shaking of the nations, which shall mean great things for Israel.¹ Zechariah, about this time, describes the Jerusalem of the future in contrast with that of the present,² and enlarges upon Jeremiah's prophecies of Israel's king, the Branch.³ It is in these later days that Joel,⁴ filled with apocalyptic vision sees a time in the future when Jehovah will pour out his spirit upon all flesh and all men will become prophets.

In connection with this he predicts the destruction of all the nations who oppose Jehovah,⁵ and even of Israel herself, in so far as she does not conform to the divine law. The Psalms of the later period deal most fondly with the coming of Jehovah in judgment,⁶ the manifestation of his presence and his power;⁷ a coming which will bring prosperity to those who love him, and a judgment day for the nations who are opposed to him.⁸ But Malachi, closing the long list of prophets, announces the coming of a second Elijah who shall foretell the coming of a messenger of the covenant whose coming shall be a day of destruction to the wicked and a day of blessing to the righteous.⁹

When now we consider the history of Israel as a whole, a history especially conducted by Jehovah, (1) in order to build up a people in the knowledge of himself that through them higher and higher truth might be revealed to the world; (2) in which great and significant events take place, furnishing the object lessons for the inculcation of these important teachings, we cannot fail to recall how, again and again, the inspired speakers refer to the conflict of mankind with evil, announcing that in the end mankind shall conquer. In whom did all these representations find their fulfilment? Who, once for all, gained the victory over sin? We recall the utterance after utterance concerning the day that Jehovah shall appear among men. This coming is always in the future and will be attended with blessings to those who love him, with destruction to those who have

¹ Hag. 2: 1-9, 21-23.

⁴ Joel 2: 28, 29.

⁷ Ps. 95.

² Zech. 2: 1-13.

⁵ Joel 2: 30-3: 21.

⁸ Pss. 98, 99, 100, 85.

³ Zech. 3: 6-10.

⁶ Ps. 97.

⁹ Mal. 3.

opposed him. When has he appeared except in the presence of his son, Jesus Christ? We notice also the vivid portrayals of the day of Jehovah, a day of darkness and distress when hostile nations shall be punished and the people of God redeemed. Does this find its fulfilment in anything else than the new régime which Christ inaugurated? We recall the beautiful descriptions of the Holy Land, as it shall be in the future, where there shall be no death, no sorrow; when man shall be at peace with man and man with beast; when harvests shall be plentiful and everything prosperous; when Jerusalem shall be the great city of the world. We recall how these descriptions enter into the pictures presented to us of the kingdom of God, and we may ask ourselves whether the world has yet seen the fulfilment of these predictions, or whether they are still to come as the outgrowth of the New Testament dispensation, a spiritual land and a spiritual kingdom. We have noted, likewise, how in the divine plan the nation was guided and instructed by three orders of men, each of which in its representations from century to century foreshadows a Christ who shall be at the same time priest, and prophet, and king.

When we remember that there is no such thing as Messianic prophecy in any literature of ancient times except the literature of the Old Testament, and when we consider the definiteness and gradual growth of the full presentation of Messianic prophecy which furnishes the connecting link, from generation to generation, for the whole history and literature of Israel, we may not doubt that in all this there has been exerted an influence for the execution of a divine plan.

THE TIMES OF CHRIST.

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The fulness of times—the Holy Land—People—Social State—Background of poverty—Idea of the kingdom—Pharisaic theology—Messianic hope—Religious life in Israel—Jews in the Dispersion—Forerunners of Christianity—Philo's teachings—The Gentile world—Time of Revolution—Social, political, philosophical, religious—The empire preparing the way of the Gospel.

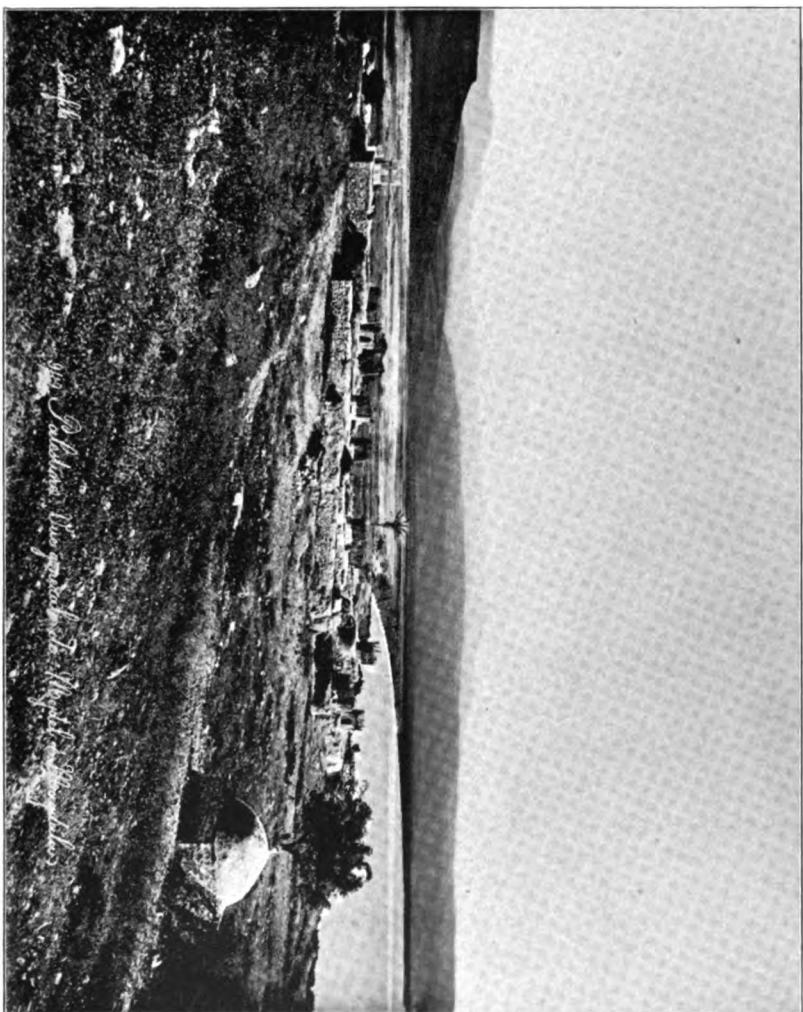
"WHEN the fulness of the time came, God sent forth his Son" (Gal. 4:4). That does not mean that Christ was a product of religious development in Israel. Neither does it mean that historic circumstances created the Redeemer of men. The fulness of time means the fulness of human need on the one hand, and ripeness of historical preparation on the other. The early church loved to speak of the Jews as the people of salvation through whom God prepared a religion for the world, and the Greeks as the men of philosophy, through whom God prepared the world for the religion. The appointed hour had struck in both Judaism and Hellenism. Had Christ appeared in the Maccabean age of worldly prosperity, or before Macedonian conquests in the East and Roman power in the West had checked Persia and Carthage by humanitarianism and law, we cannot see how he could have fulfilled his mission to Israel, or his gospel found an entrance to the Gentile world. Had he not appeared till after Jerusalem fell and the temple was overthrown, and the confusion of pagan cults, caused by the rise of the Empire and skeptical Greek criticism, had been succeeded by the revived, united paganism and learned orthodoxy of the age of the Antonines, he could not have taken his place as fulfiller of law and sacrifices, neither could the apostles have found Jewish synagogues and Greek lecture halls ready to receive them. His advent coincided with the most stupendous transition in ancient history. The scepter had departed from Judah, to pass first into the hands of Herodians, of the

family of Esau, then into the possession of Rome; while Rome was just moving out of Republican isolation into universal Imperialism. Christ was born under the first emperor. The world-wide Empire and the everlasting Kingdom appeared together. With Herod the Great, the political life of Palestine had become utterly worldly and lost its last theocratic vestige; while in Rome, the most secular of all places, Cæsar claimed to be divine. The Jewish high priest lost his crown and became a tool of Herod. The Roman Emperor made himself also high priest, and as such representative of Jupiter and a god. Between these two contending ideas—the efforts of Israel to defend at all costs the theocracy of Jehovah, and the claim of Rome to stand in her Cæsar for the universal cult—Jesus came to full consciousness of his high calling to found the Kingdom of the Divine Father for all men.

The Jews and their land formed a unique meeting place for the exclusiveness of a people of revelation and redemption with the reason and superstition of the world powers. They were shut in by the sea, the desert, the mountains, and the deep ravines of the Jordan; yet they lay at the juncture of Europe, Asia, and Africa. All peoples came to Israel. And when the time came to offer the revelation through Christ to the world, Apostles from Judea could at once enter every avenue of ancient life. With all his seclusion and conservatism, the Jew was now the most cosmopolitan of men. He met all races in his own land; and through his brethren in the Dispersion he was in vital relations with all parts of the world.

Palestine was an epitome of all countries and zones. Its deep valleys, its plains, its table lands, its mountains, presented the temperature, the fruits, the landscapes of every clime. Hence the Bible, the teachings of Jesus, present universal doctrines in scenery and imagery familiar to all men.

The Jews of the land in Christ's time numbered about five millions; the conservative, aristocratic, traditional part living in Judea about the holy city Jerusalem; and the more free, warm-hearted, patriotic, but less cultured part occupying the rich province of Galilee. Between them lay Samaria, in which dwelt a



RUINS OF MAGDALA, A CITY ON THE LAKE OF TIBERIAS.

half Jewish, half Gentile people, who formed a stepping-stone for the gospel from the Jewish to the Roman world (Acts 8 : 5f.). Trade, commerce, dye-works, potteries, glass furnaces, fisheries, agriculture flourished in the fertile fields and numerous towns of Galilee. It was surely not accidental that the chief scene of Christ's preaching, the cities along the Lake of Tiberias, was a hive of industry, in which he met "Fullers' Unions," "Ass Drivers' Associations," "Fishermen's Clubs," and taught the Gospel of the Kingdom in vital contact with the complicated problems of business life. Here, too, he mingled much with the free country life of sowers and tares, reapers and harvest fields, mustard seed and fig trees, hens and chickens, shepherd and flock, which made his words so winsome to the common people. In Judea, on the other hand, he came in contact with Scribe and Pharisee, a highly organized life, the temple and priests, money-changers and questions about tribute to Cæsar.

One sad thing, which especially impressed Jesus as running through all the secular existence of his people, was the growing misery and deepening poverty which he met on every hand. It is hardly too much to say that the background of all his preaching was business depression, panic, and poverty. Herod the Great exacted about \$3,000,000 a year from the people. The Roman procurators were equally extortionate. Besides this revenue, there were many local taxes, religious dues, and the irregular levies of procurators, zealots, and the increasing plunder seized by robbers and outlaws. Business became more and more interrupted, and want, with growing frequency, showed its emaciated features. How often Jesus speaks of the debtor going to prison, the creditor discounting bills, the man who could not finish a tower for lack of funds, the poor widow, usury because of scarcity of money, men standing idle in the market, or hiding their little wealth from robbing exactors, and multitudes so living on the edge of starvation that Jesus fed them miraculously. The common cry was: "What shall we eat?" Hence the first petition taught the disciples was: "Give us this day our daily bread;" and the first utterance in the Sermon on the Mount was: "Blessed are the poor."

Largely from this point of view, the practical shaping of the kingdom arose in his mind. He knew of the zealot insurrection of his Galilean fellow countrymen, Judas and Zadok, and saw how they that drew the sword in a religious war perished by the sword. He grew up in an atmosphere of anarchy and theocratic socialism. The vision before his brethren was of a kingdom of David, of glory and riches and victory and power. But he turned away from the zealot conception. He passed by even the Davidic kingdom. He preached a spiritual dominion for the poor in spirit, whose triumphs were in repentance, faith, and being perfect as the King, the Father in heaven is perfect.

The theological thought of the Jews in the time of Christ was molded by the Pharisees. All the people except two or three thousand Sadducees, a few free thinkers called Herodians, and some small groups of mystics, especially the Essenes, were Pharisaic in belief. The center of this theology was the schools of the Scribes, and an outgrowth of these schools was the Fraternity of the Pharisees, an order of about six thousand men, in four degrees, bound together by the special vows of tithes and ceremonial purifications. They were the Jewish Jesuits, the official saints, who both taught the law and showed how it should be kept. Jesus did not object to their teachings; it was rather their practice that he denounced. These men in Moses' seat, as they opposed surrounding idolatry, and set themselves to systematic study of the Scriptures, even advanced beyond the cruder theology of the post-exilic days, and made prominent some doctrines which Jesus approved. There were four ruling ideas in this Pharisaic system which the gospel made fully fruitful. They were those of the transcendence of Jehovah, the individual rather than the national relation of man to God, the Law as the way to please the Lord, and the hope of the Messiah as the rewarder of those who obey the Law. From the point of view that God is our Father and his law is love, Jesus gave this circle of thought a new center, from which it received new illumination and the power of an endless life. The great defect of Pharisaic theology was its legalism, which made all religious life, even sacrifices and prayers, good works, for which man expects

a reward. Such teachings were pessimistic, for all men are conscious that perfection is impossible; the schools of Hillel and Shammai accordingly debated whether or not life were worth living, and the Assembly of the Scribes decided in the negative, but advised men to do the best they can since they are here.

Pharisaic views of the Messiah were not certain. They could not reconcile the two pictures given of him as the Servant of the Lord and a glorious King in the Old Testament. They had no idea of two Advents, and thought they meant either two Messiahs or the Messiah in conflict with enemies and his triumph over them. He was preëxistent, but apparently only in the plan of God. They had no thought of the Messiah as dying for the sins of men. He was not divine. The Pharisees did not put Jesus to death for claiming to be the Messiah; but because he claimed to be the Son of God and equal with God (John 19:7).

In the Golden Age of the Maccabees, hope in the coming Deliverer grew very dim; but the terrible days of civil war, of Herod and Rome, appeared to many as the "birth pangs" of the Messiah. In the time of Jesus, the mass of the people looked for the Messiah. The godly in Israel also, through the study of the prophets, came to have higher conceptions of the coming One. The wider horizon of the Greek and Roman world helped them to think of him as ruler of all nations, and not of the Jews only. They thought of his work as spiritual rather than as that of a warrior king. He was more closely associated with Jehovah. The ethical character of his kingdom was given greater prominence; the sinless Messiah must rule over a holy people. Man's relation to him was made more personal and less national. In general, we may add, that every Israelite saw in the Messiah his ideal, and expected to find in his kingdom just that blessedness which would realize his expectation of heaven.

The religious life in Israel suffered much from the state of chronic insurrection into which the land fell in the time of Jesus. It is true the forms remained. The Jews prayed in private morning and night. They had family worship three times a day. They said grace before and after meat. They kept the Sabbath strictly. They were careful to be ceremonially clean. They

attended synagogue worship on Sabbath and once through the week. They observed the festivals. They offered sacrifices in the temple. They were zealous to make proselytes. But, despite all this, the love of many had waxed cold; legalism and worldliness were benumbing many a soul. Especially did earnest men complain of neglect in the proper education of children. Not a few Pietists, Apocalyptic men, like the Essenes, withdrew from public life. The high priests and other Sadducee leaders of the nation were venal and corrupt. The zealots, who were most earnest, seemed smitten with judicial blindness, and dragged the nation after them into civil strife and utter ruin. The Pharisees vacillated, now for Rome, now trying to be neutral, now favoring the zealots, till blind leaders of the blind they fell into the ditch of common despair and death.

We must now glance at the Jews beyond Palestine. They were found everywhere, and fell into two great divisions, the Babylonian and the Greek Dispersion. They were wealthier, more progressive, more liberal than their brethren in Palestine. In fact the Jew of the Dispersion was very analogous to the Roman. The national life of each centered in a city, but both in a peculiar sense were "citizens of the world" as were no others. Both in their religion became largely denationalized and strove to show a universal cult. But exiled Judaism by losing its body politic became a wandering soul; while Rome in building up a great corporate system lost her soul. But the disembodied Jewish spirit and the inanimate Roman body politic, guarded by Cæsar, could not unite, for Israel had rejected her Messiah, through whom in due time the Empire became an organ of Christian life. This Judaism in the Dispersion was the most important forerunner of Christianity in the heathen world. The foreign Jews had largely the rights of citizenship. They enjoyed religious liberty. They were about as numerous as those in Palestine. In Alexandria they formed one-fifth of the population. In many places they were rich and held important public offices. They were bound together, amid dissolving paganism, by their faith in one God, their union of morality with religion, their Greek Bible, their doctrine of creation, which rejected materialism and pan-

theism, the Sabbath, the synagogue, family devotion, and the hope of the Messiah, who was the embodiment of all that Greek wisdom believed or longed for.

The experience of this Jewish Dispersion anticipated largely that of the Christian church. Josephus in his reply to Apion answers the same pagan attacks which Athenagoras and Justin must meet. The services of the Greek synagogues were essentially repeated in the Gentile churches. But especially in mission work and winning converts from paganism did the Jews of the Dispersion open the way for Christianity. Greek Jews, like Stephen and Apollos, and proselytes to Greek Judaism, "the honorable women," were among the first converts to the gospel. There were many converts in the Greek synagogues, chiefly women. Not a few were of high rank, as the wife of Nero, the eunuch of Candace, and the kings of Azizus and Emesa. The attractions of Greek Judaism were its mission zeal, which blazed out especially in the time of Christ, the fulfilment of prophecy, the exalted teachings of the Old Testament, and the tact and learning with which Jewish teachers set forth the great doctrines of God, virtue, immortality, which heathen sages built upon reason, as resting upon divine revelation. The confidence of Judaism in its faith, and the practical fruits in pure family life, and holy worship also impressed thoughtful heathen.

Especially did the theology of the Greek Jews, as represented by Philo, prepare the way for New Testament thought. The problem of defending Homer, the Bible of the Greeks, from critical attacks was solved by the allegorical theory of exegesis. Philo applied this to the Old Testament and made Moses the source of the philosophy of Greece. He taught an exoteric and an esoteric Judaism, which really landed him in rationalism. The real teachings of Scripture were just the deductions of reason. His most suggestive doctrine was that of the Logos, which he called "high-priest," and "eldest Son of God." This divine reason of the Greeks he made a revealer and mediator of Jehovah, especially of His justice and mercy. There is no doubt that these ideas of Philo influenced the form of early Christian thought; but how far he was from the position of the gospel can be seen in the

fact that his Logos had no connection with the Messiah, was impersonal, was a cosmological principle, and led to natural theology, while the New Testament makes Christ the Logos and is everywhere soteriological and religious.

Let us now turn for a moment to the great heathen world. Here the coming of Christ was marked by revolution—social, political, philosophical, religious—a revolution which shook the foundations of all ancient life and thought. Men felt things were so bad that a change must come. Great Pan was declared to be dead. The Romans were looking for the age of Saturn to come again. The rapid growth of Greek Judaism, and early Christianity shows the unrest of the times.

The social changes which came with the Empire were stupendous. The conquered races were greatly mixed. Of a population of 120,000,000 half had been reduced to slavery. Civil wars and standing armies took the farmers out of the army, out of politics, and made them but tenants on large estates, or drove them into the cities. These slaves away from home, these demoralized farmers, formed a fruitful field for the gospel, which was first preached to the poor in Palestine. On the other hand, the cities were full of wealth, business, and blending of races, equally favoring the reception of new ideas in religion.

The political change from Rome a city to Rome an Empire was also far-reaching. Legislation widened from "municipal law" to the "law of nations" and then to the "law of nature." Rome must make laws for man as man. This transition suggested the idea of human brotherhood, taught toleration, brought in safety under law, and, by robbing men of political liberty, led them to seek a substitute in moral questions and the freedom of the soul. Thus thinking men were forced to dwell upon the very problems which looked towards Christianity.

This appears in the philosophy of the time. It was marked especially by three things. It was eclectic, ethical, and sought certainty in revelation from God. Every man's conscience was the final arbiter; just the position of St. Paul (Rom. 3:14). This later philosophy especially looked towards the gospel, by showing the inability of pagan wisdom to satisfy the soul, by

developing a sense of individualism—as the Pharisees had done—which led towards personal life in God, by teaching monotheism, and the spiritual immanence of God, by holding the unity of mankind—Epictetus said: “We are all God’s children”—and by presenting the life of virtue as a long development, with immortality, the restoration of the “image of God” (Diogenes), as its final reward. But the more practical this philosophy became the more it felt its own weakness as it saw the moral life of the Empire growing worse and worse; and the more it longed, and prayed for a revelation from God. The fulness of times was here also a fulness of need, which looked towards Jesus Christ.

The religious revolution in the Empire was equally striking. It was marked first of all in the generation before Christ by confusion of gods and cults, by skepticism among the educated, and neglect of idolatry by the people. The all-upsetting unification of the Empire sorely demoralized national paganism. But in the time of Christ a revival of religion began. Just in the pause between the two Christianity appeared. But it would be a great mistake to say the gospel spread because paganism was too weak to oppose it. Three elements in this revival of heathenism may be noticed. First, the reforms of Augustus and the introduction of Cæsar worship as a bond of union between contending mythologies and a support to decaying morals. Second, the coming in of Oriental cults from India and Syria. These gave Western religion the priest as active functionary, taught that their followers formed a holy brotherhood, gave women equal rights with men, made rich and poor, bond and free welcome as members, showed the cold Roman the place of emotion in worship, pointed to the mysteries as the heart of devotion, offered bloody sacrifices for sin, taught a new birth, were missionary in character, and loved to tell of a God who came to earth as a man, was slain, rose again, and went about teaching the true religion. It is no wonder early Christians saw in such things a Satanic caricature of the gospel. A third factor in this revival was the philosophical, to which we have already referred.

This unity of the Empire not only prepared for Christianity

itself, but opened up channels for its progress. The chief of these were the peace which prevailed, Roman highways, spread of the Greek language, great facility of intercourse by land and sea, freedom given Jews in the Dispersion and their numerous converts, religious tolerance, and the recognition of benevolent and burial clubs, under guise of which churches could often live and labor.

THE SOURCES OF THE LIFE OF JESUS.

BY ERNEST D. BURTON,
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The one ultimate source produced various mediate sources, among which our four gospels now hold the first place.—Tradition concerning the authorship of our gospels, and reasons for questioning it.—The synoptic problem: its elements; proposed solutions; propositions practically established.—The problem of the fourth gospel: its character; various views; present status.

If the four gospels and even all quotations from them in printed books should today absolutely perish from the earth, it would be possible to recover every word of their testimony concerning Jesus. The memories of living men constitute a treasure-house from which a life of Jesus could be drawn as full and complete as that which we possess today. These memories rest, of course, almost wholly upon the written gospels. But there was a time when there existed such a treasure of memories, resting not upon books, but upon the historic facts themselves. Back of all written records of the life of Jesus, and forming the basis and source of all such records lay the knowledge of Jesus which his disciples and friends gained by personal observation. This knowledge found expression in various literary forms. Many of these have perished; yet enough remain so that even without our gospels it would still be possible to give a trustworthy historical account of Jesus. The Acts and epistles of the New Testament would tell us many things, and those too, precisely the most important things. A "life of Jesus" based exclusively on the epistles of Paul, or even exclusively on those which the severest criticism now almost unanimously accepts as genuine writings of the apostle, would be meager indeed compared with the gospel record, yet in the absence of the gospels would be an invaluable gift to the world. The church fathers would give us something not only of that which they derive from the gospels, but something also which is apparently drawn directly from the same stream of living tradition from which the gospels also drew

a little nearer to its source. Even secular writers, Suetonius, Josephus, and Tacitus add a sentence or two of value.

Yet all these witnesses, invaluable in the absence of the gospels, become in their presence secondary sources for the life of Jesus. None of them, nor all of them together—can, except from some special point of view, be compared with the gospels themselves, if only we are assured that in these latter we have trustworthy historical witnesses. Who then were the authors of these books and what opportunity had they for acquiring information? As the books stand today in the New Testament, and as they stand in all manuscripts and versions, even the oldest, they bear respectively the names of two apostles and two companions of apostles. If these four men relate independently what they themselves heard and saw of the life, deeds, teachings, death, resurrection, ascension of Jesus, the question of the sources of the life of Jesus is practically answered: we have in these four books the testimony of four eyewitnesses. Granted only their honesty, one could scarcely ask for more.

But several facts that can be learned with but little observation raise the question, not indeed of the honesty of the writers, but whether these books really profess or undertake to give the direct testimony of these authors to what they themselves witnessed. In the first place, there are related some events which can hardly have been within the scope of observation even of apostles. This is conspicuously true of the narratives of the infancy. And when we come to the two gospels which bear the names not of apostles, but of companions of apostles, we must recognize that we have no knowledge that they were eyewitnesses of any of the events of the life of Jesus. But we do not need to argue wholly from our ignorance. The preface of Luke is quite decisive as respects his book.

Forasmuch as many have taken in hand to draw up a narrative concerning those matters which have been fulfilled among us, even as they delivered them unto us, which from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word, it seemed good to me also, having traced the course of all things accurately from the first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest know the certainty concerning the things wherein thou wast instructed.

These words make it quite clear that the author of the third gospel distinguished himself from those who "from the beginning were eyewitnesses and ministers of the word." Mark has left no such testimony respecting himself, but Papias, the earliest Christian writer, aside from Luke himself, from whom we have any statement about the origin of the gospels, is authority for the statement that John the presbyter said :

Mark, having become Peter's interpreter, wrote accurately the things that were either said or done by the Christ, as far as he remembered them, not, however, in order. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow him ; but afterward, as I said [he followed], Peter, who adapted his teaching to the needs [of the occasion], but not as if he were making a systematic arrangement of the words of the Lord. . . .

To these two important statements, that of Luke respecting himself and that of Papias respecting Mark, let there now be added an important fact of internal evidence. An attentive reading of our first three gospels reveals the fact that in certain parts they closely resemble one another, not only in relating the same events or reporting the same sayings of Jesus, but in employing almost identically the same words. Two brief examples will illustrate the fact, the full extent of which can be perceived only by a careful comparison and study of the three gospels throughout. Take one example from discourse material.

Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come ? Bring forth therefore fruit worthy of repentance : and think not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father : for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And even now is the axe laid unto the root of the trees : every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.—*Matt. 3 : 7-10.*

Ye offspring of vipers, who warned you to flee from the wrath to come ? Bring forth therefore fruits worthy of repentance, and begin not to say within yourselves, We have Abraham to our father : for I say unto you, that God is able of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham. And even now is the axe also laid unto the root of the trees : every tree therefore that bringeth not forth good fruit is hewn down, and cast into the fire.—*Luke 3 : 7-9.*

Let the other example be from a narrative section.

And walking by the sea of Galilee, he saw two brethren, Simon who is

And passing along by the sea of Galilee, he saw Simon and Andrew,

called Peter, and Andrew, his brother, casting a net into the sea; for they were fishers. And he saith unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you fishers of men. And they straightway left the nets, and followed him. And going on from thence he saw other two brethren, James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, in the boat with Zebedee their father, mending their nets; and he called them. And they straightway left the boat and their father, and followed him.—*Matt. 4 : 18-22.*

the brother of Simon, casting a net in the sea; for they were fishers. And Jesus said unto them, Come ye after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And straightway they left the nets, and followed him. And going on a little further, he saw James the son of Zebedee, and John his brother, who also were in the boat, mending the nets. And straightway he called them: and they left their father Zebedee in the boat with the hired servants, and went after him.—*Mark 1 : 16-20.*

The significance of the fact illustrated by these examples is still more clear, when we observe that such resemblances as these are very numerous among the first three gospels, but scarcely occur at all between any one of them and the fourth. The latter manifestly treats of the same Jesus who is the subject of the other three, yet, in a literary sense, pursues almost an entirely independent course.

These facts and others that are related to them have made it evident that the problem of the sources and mutual relations of the first three gospels—the Synoptic Problem, as it is often called—is a real one, and one which is in large part distinct from any that pertain to the fourth gospel.

The elements of this synoptic problem have already been stated in part. They include, (1) Resemblances of these gospels to one another in several particulars. Thus all three of the synoptists observe the same general historical boundaries, recording the Galilean and Perean ministries and omitting the early Judean ministry reported by John. They record in considerable part the same events in these periods, a fact the significance of which will be better appreciated if it be remembered how small a fraction of all the events of Jesus' ministry is related, and if it be noticed that for the most part the fourth gospel makes an entirely different selection. In the order of events there are marked resemblances; between Mark and Luke especially there is a close resemblance, which is made all the more

striking by the fact that Matthew and Mark much less constantly agree, and that Matthew and Luke scarcely agree at all except when both agree with Mark. Finally there is close verbal similarity in the record of the events related in common by two or by all three of the synoptists; the examples given above illustrate the nature of this similarity. (2) Differences among the synoptists. For despite the marked resemblances, each gospel still has its own somewhat clearly marked purpose, each records some events not related by the others, and omits some recorded by the others, each adds details not found in the others, and Luke in a number of cases gives a quite independent account in place of that which the other two give in common. (3) The statements of the gospels themselves or of early Christian writers concerning the origin of the several gospels. Two of the most important of these have already been quoted, Luke's preface, and the statement of Papias concerning Mark. Another very important one, also from Papias, may be quoted here.

Matthew accordingly composed the oracles in the Hebrew dialect and each one interpreted them as he was able.

As long ago as Augustine the close resemblance of the gospels was noticed, and the suggestion was put forth by him that Mark had condensed his narrative from Matthew. Jerome discussed the question of the relation between the original Hebrew Matthew spoken of by Papias, and the Greek Matthew then and now current in the church. In the eighteenth century interest in the problem revived, and for the last hundred years it has been recognized as one of the most important problems of New Testament scholarship. So many have been the theories propounded that we must speak of them for the most part in classes.

1. The theory of a common document from which all three of our gospels drew. This theory was advocated by Eichhorn in 1794, and for a time commended itself to many scholars. But when it had been modified by the introduction of the multiplied recensions of this one document that were seen to be necessary in order that the theory might account for the facts, it had become so cumbersome, so loaded with unsustained hypothesis that it broke down under its own weight, and today has practically no advocates.

2. The theory of an oral gospel regards the oral teaching and preaching of the apostles and early missionaries as itself the direct source of our synoptic gospels. This teaching, it is held, naturally assumed, while the apostles were still living, a somewhat fixed and definite form, or rather several such forms, resembling one another, yet having each its own peculiarities. The differences of the synoptic gospels are due to the variable element, the resemblances to the fixed element, of this living tradition. Gieseler, in 1818, gave definite form to this view, and it still has ardent advocates. The theory, like the tradition by which it accounts for our gospels, is very flexible, and has in fact received several quite divergent forms. One of the most recently proposed and most interesting forms is that of Mr. Arthur Wright in his book, *The Composition of the Four Gospels*. The serious question concerning this view is not whether such an oral gospel in fact existed, nor whether it is the source of our gospels—this is generally conceded—but whether it is the direct source. The close resemblances of the gospels to one another in certain parts, as well as the peculiar and uneven distribution of these resemblances, lead many scholars to believe that between the oral gospel and the present gospels there must have been a written medium, and that there must also have been some dependence of our present gospels on one another. From this conviction has arisen another class of theories, which admit the existence and the influence of the oral gospel, but do not find in it a sufficient explanation of the facts. They may be grouped under the head of:

3. The theory of an original document supplemented by that of the interdependence of our present gospels. It is evident that this general theory is capable of many forms according to the order of dependence which is assumed. It must suffice to mention the views of a few well-known scholars.

Meyer regarded the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew, the oracles spoken of by Papias, as the oldest document. This was used by Mark, who had as his other chief source his personal recollection of the preaching of Peter. Our present gospel of Matthew grew out of the original Hebrew gospel of Matthew largely under the influence of Mark, and under this influence was

translated into Greek. Luke used Mark and the Greek Matthew as we still have it.

Bernhard Weiss holds a similar view, differing most conspicuously in holding that Luke used not our present Matthew, but a Greek translation of the original Matthew.

Holtzmann, Bruce, Wendt, and others, while recognizing the use both of Mark and of the original Matthew by the first and third evangelists, regard Mark itself as an independent work. According to this view there lie at the basis of our gospels two original and independent documents, the original Matthew and Mark, the latter identical or nearly so with our present second gospel. This is known as the two-document theory.

Uniformity of opinion has evidently not yet been reached. There is, however, a clearly marked tendency to agree on a few propositions. (1) That back of all our gospels lies what may be called the oral gospel, the main source of all documents. (2) That the apostle Matthew put forth a collection of the sayings or discourses of Jesus, probably including also some narrative portions. Some identify this with our present Matthew, but the general tendency is to regard it rather as a source of the first gospel than as that book itself. (3) That Mark put forth a gospel substantially identical with our second gospel. His chief source was his personal recollection of the preaching of Peter, or if he had two coördinate sources these were the original Matthew and the preaching of Peter. (4) That our present Matthew is based mainly on Mark and the original Matthew. (5) That Luke also employed Mark and the original Matthew as his chief sources.¹ Thus on the one side there is a tendency to distinguish our first gospel from the original apostolic Matthew, and on the other to regard all three of the synoptists as resting in no small part upon genuinely apostolic sources.

¹It is a question which perhaps deserves further consideration than it has yet received whether the matter common to Matthew and Luke but not found in Mark, which is usually assigned to the original Matthew, ought not rather to be recognized as coming from three documents, of which the apostolic Matthew was used by the first evangelist only, the others, however, in common by Luke and the first evangelist, though by each in his own way. Such a view while increasing the number of the sources would explain some facts difficult to account for on the more common view.

When we turn to the problem of the fourth gospel, we find it of a very different character from that which the synoptic gospels present. Here, since we have but one book, the factor of resemblances and differences is at once eliminated. The question of sources is not indeed excluded, but the generally homogeneous character of the book, and the absence of any other work which, containing in part the same material, might serve as a touchstone for the detection of different sources, remand this problem to a secondary place. The great question concerning the fourth gospel is that of its essential authorship. Is it as all tradition affirms, the work of the apostle John, or is it not? Roughly speaking, three views have been maintained: (1) It is in the strictest sense the work of the apostle. This view has been held from the second century down, and is today defended by a large number of sober and able scholars. (2) It is simply a spurious work of the second century, in no sense Johannine, or, at any rate, having a Johannine element so slight as to be almost inappreciable. It was in 1820 that Bretschneider called in question the Johannine authorship, down to that time accepted almost without dissenting voice. He afterwards withdrew his objections, but the question was not dropped, and there are still to be found scholars who find little or no connection between the fourth gospel and the apostle John. (3) The fourth gospel proceeds from John as the chief source of its information, but the actual writer was some disciple of John to us unknown. Substantially this, though with much variation in details, is the view advocated by Sabatier, Weizsäcker, and Wendt in their published writings, and by some other well-known scholars in their class-room lectures.

The truth, we are constrained to believe, lies essentially with the first view, subject perhaps to some modification in the direction of the third. Fifty years of criticism have resulted in carrying the date of the gospel back fifty years earlier than the opponents of its genuineness wished to place it. Whereas, in 1844, F. C. Baur assigned it to about 170 A.D., thus separating it by two whole generations from the latest possible date of John's death, Jülicher, one of the most recent writers

to deny the Johannine authorship, places it between 100 and 125 A.D., with an apparent inclination to the earlier part of this quarter-century. It seems, moreover, impossible to doubt that the clear evidence which the book affords of proceeding from a Jewish Christian familiar with Palestinian affairs in the days of Jesus, and its manifest claim at the very least to rest upon the testimony of an eyewitness from among the apostles of Jesus, will continue to exercise an increasing influence in the decision of the question. At the same time it must be recognized that there are some indications that the book, as we possess it, did not proceed from the very pen of him who was the chief source of its material. It would not be strange if this evidence should at length lead to the conclusion that this gospel is from the apostle John as the second gospel is from the apostle Peter, rather than from his own pen.

Should something approximating to this view come to prevail, and should the views intimated above concerning the synoptic problem stand the test of further examination, we should then have not, indeed, as tradition says, two directly apostolic and two indirectly apostolic books, but four books in varying degrees apostolic. Of the first gospel we should recognize Matthew and Peter as the chief sources; of the second, Peter would be regarded as the chief source, or Matthew and Peter as coördinate sources; of the third, Peter as a main source, Matthew perhaps a second; of the fourth, John would be the source. But, whatever the precise view which shall eventually obtain general acceptance, it cannot be doubted that the total outcome will be in the direction of the results already attained, viz., a more exact, a more impressive, a more surely attested knowledge of the life and teaching of Jesus than previous generations have possessed. If, in the meantime, the historical study of the gospels is made more difficult than it once was, it will also be made more fruitful, and its results will be more surely attested.

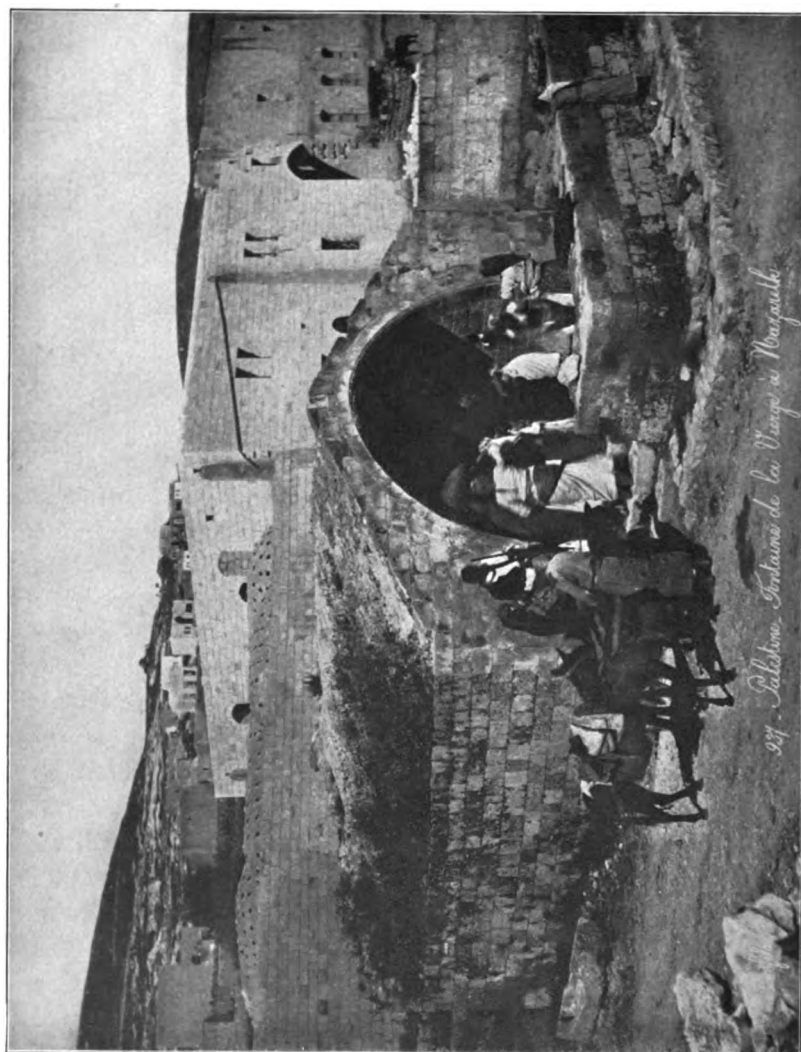
THE BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF JESUS.

By REV. PROFESSOR A. C. ZENOS, D.D.,
McCormick Theological Seminary.

The earliest and the latest scenes in Jesus' life attract the Christian—the earliest especially.—The house in Nazareth—the Annunciation and visit to Elizabeth—the effect on Joseph.—The Birth at Bethlehem—the shepherds' watch—the angels' song—the visit to the cave of the Nativity.—The presentation at the Temple—the testimony of Simeon and Anna—the adoration of the Magi.—The flight to Egypt—the return to Nazareth.

THE Christian Church has instinctively seized on the two ends of the earthly life of Jesus, and made them emphatic by fixing on them as the periods of the festivals and celebrations of its calendar. Christian Art also expressing, no doubt, the same instinctive feeling has expended an apparently disproportionate amount of idealizing energy on the beginning and end of the terrestrial career of the Saviour of men. Almost altogether ignoring the years of the active ministry the great artists have multiplied without number their beautiful representations of the Nativity, the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and Ascension. What do these facts mean? It cannot certainly be a mere accident that the hearts and minds of Christians have fondly reverted to these scenes of the Redeemer's life. We reiterate only an old and easily perceptible truth, and yet a profound one when we give answer to the above question by calling attention to the fact that the birth and death of Jesus Christ stand for the great revealed truths of the Incarnation and the Atonement. There is a hunger and thirst in the human spirit which only the revelation of the fact that "the Word was made flesh" can satisfy. There is a craving in human nature which only the knowledge of the fact that Christ "bare our sins in his own body on the tree," can allay.

But of the two periods of the Lord's earthly life above mentioned the earliest is perhaps the one which is more eagerly



FOUNTAIN AT NAZARETH.
The Traditional Place of the Annunciation

scanned. How often the desire has been expressed that the annalists had given us more fully the details concerning that wonderful birth and that unique childhood. Even the year of the Saviour's appearance in human weakness has been the subject of many searching investigations and divergent conclusions; and as to the time of the year the very opposite seasons have been pointed out as the most likely period for the event. And yet, have not the evangelists furnished enough facts to gratify every legitimate need and desire? If the data be taken in the simplicity with which they appear to be given, and if no difficulties be created where difficulties do not naturally exist in the narratives, they will present in a few clear pictures a complete story of the Advent and Infancy of Immanuel.

The first scene carries us into Galilee, and particularly to the town of Nazareth, despised for its lack of historical associations, and perhaps for the plainness and crudity of its inhabitants. Here lived a descendant of David in lowly circumstances—Joseph, the carpenter. Here dwelt also another descendant of David in somewhat better circumstances, perhaps; for a priest found his wife among her kin. This was Mary, the betrothed of Joseph. It was the age of expectation. Even far away among the Magians of Mesopotamia the hope that a great King and Deliverer was to make his appearance was vividly entertained. In Palestine this expectation was at its keenest. As when the sun after the winter season gathers strength and pours his warming rays on different fields and simultaneously sets the forces of life to working in them and causes it to spring forth and blossom in apparently independent centers, so the Spirit of the Almighty was evidently at work both far and near vivifying the hope of a marvelous manifestation of Himself. But God is consistent with himself, and having aroused this hope he also vouchsafed certain signs whereby its fulfilment should be certified to all men, especially those in whom the hope was aroused at the time. Thus a series of what men conveniently call “supernatural” occurrences took place to arrest the attention and attest God's special presence in what was about to be witnessed.

The first in importance of these supernatural manifestations

was given to the Virgin that was to become the mother of the Messiah. The thrill which filled her heart as she heard the message of the angel of the Annunciation was only deepened and changed into a gladsome acceptance of a great honor divinely conferred when she was further informed in detailed representation of the nature of her offspring that was to be and of his birth and name. Nor was she, the angel assured her, the first person to receive a supernatural intimation of the impending advent of the Messiah, even though she should have the honor of standing in the closest natural relation to him. Her cousin Elizabeth had already been charged and enabled by the power of God to take upon herself the welcome task of motherhood to the prophet that should go before the face of God's anointed. Eager for every ray of light on such a vital matter, Mary hastened to Judea and there heard even more than was sufficient to confirm the angel's words.

But though the message, thus supernaturally given and supernaturally confirmed, rendered her willing, yea, glad, to assume a position otherwise full of difficulty—a position that apart from these supernatural assurances she would naturally have shrunk from—it created a crisis in her relations to Joseph, her betrothed. On returning from a visit to her cousin in Judea she evidently made known her God-assigned task to the righteous carpenter of Nazareth; and in his mind the information could, under the circumstances, lead to but one resolution, *i. e.*, that of putting her away. But here again God's plan was different from that of men. Joseph was apprised in a vision of the night that the Child of his Virgin wife was to be the Saviour of Israel. His mind was revolutionized. Instead of carrying out his purpose of putting away his intended wife, he now hastens to consummate that perfect union between himself and her that should give him the legal right to shield and protect both her and her offspring from all evil that might threaten. Thus the months passed.

A census was ordered, and, according to the Jewish law, it must be taken according to the tribes and families of the nation. Joseph, as "of the house of David," must go to Bethlehem, "the city of David," to be registered. Nothing was more natural than

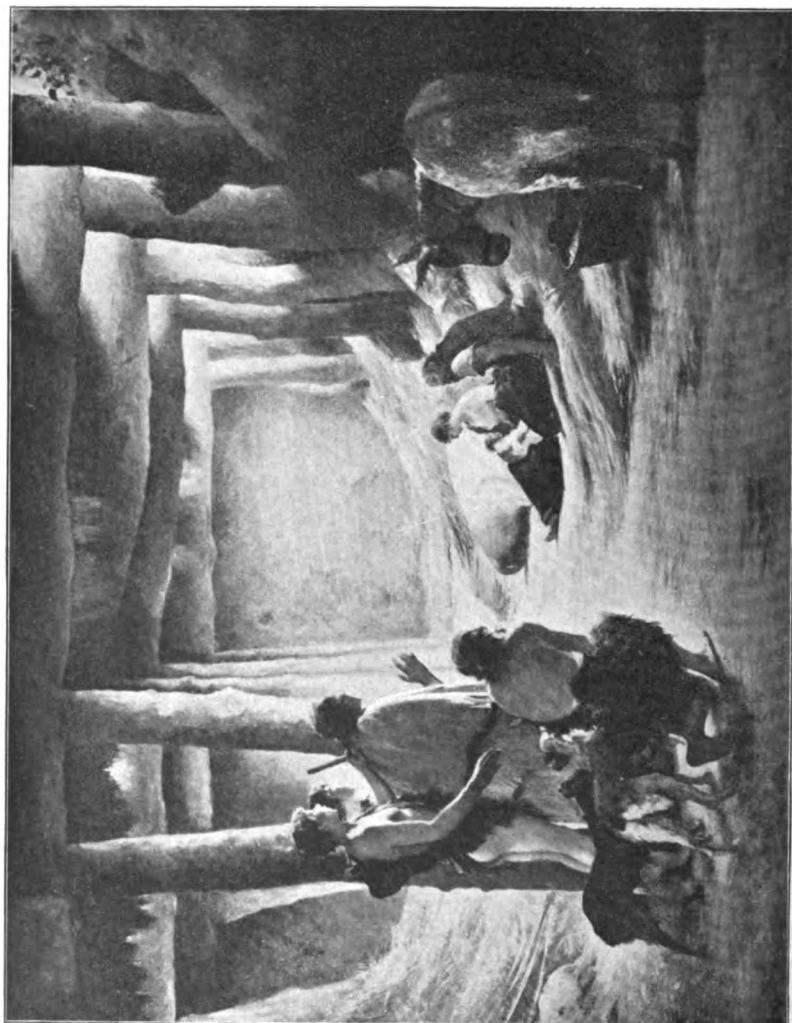
that he should take with him his bride, and thus secure the enrollment also of her son as the true "son of David." The scanty accommodations of the village were soon exhausted under the strain put on them by the extraordinary inflow of men who, like Joseph, had come to be numbered with their "house." The pair from Nazareth were compelled to take their abode in a natural cave outside the village that had been used as a stable



BETHLEHEM FROM THE LATIN CONVENT.

for the lodging of cattle. Thus did the Divine Providence bring it about that the King of Israel, "the King of kings and Lord of lords" should enter the world in the lowliest imaginable surroundings. Artists have idealized the historical situation, but only that they might the better express the devout feelings roused by the contemplation of the marvelous facts. The process of idealizing adds nothing either to the charm or the suggestiveness of the bare historical picture. The simplicity of nature and history is the simplicity of God's way of dealing, and needs no embellishment.

And yet lowly and simple as the scene presented at Bethle-



THE ARRIVAL OF THE SHEPHERDS.
—LE ROLLE.

hem it lacked nothing of appropriate accompaniment of miracle. In the inimitable language of St. Luke, "there were shepherds in the same country abiding in the field, keeping watch over their flock by night. And, lo, the angel of the Lord came upon them, and the glory of the Lord shone round about them:" and to their minds, filled with natural awe, the message must have sounded like the reassuring words of a friend come to the rescue in time of peril: "Fear not: for, behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all the people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David a Saviour, which is Christ the Lord." And before they could altogether realize the further details of description through which the angelic message should be verified by them in the manger at the cave, the veil between heaven and earth seemed to be lifted, and upon their entranced ears there fell strains of music such as no mortal had heard till then. Yea, and many have been the efforts since to reproduce that celestial harmony. And though none have succeeded in doing this, yet the attempt has proved a source of inspiration and an uplifting force for the whole art of song. Devout Handels and Bachs and Gounods, as well as Mendelssohns and Wagners who would not bow the knee to the Babe of Bethlehem, have soared higher and sung more thrillingly because the heavenly host on that Christmas night, under the clear sky of Syria, praised God and said: "Glory to God in the Highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

But the heavenly vision having accomplished its object, having rendered the first announcement of Christ's birth, a glad one to the humble herdsmen of Judea, was lost to their bodily eyes. The incident, however, moved them to hasten to Bethlehem, and, guided by the light which hung over the entrance of the village inn, they found the cave used as a stable attachment to the inn, and there, although not perhaps in harmony with their ideas of the fitting dignity and splendor in which the Messiah should come, they found what they had been told. Thus assured that they had not been the victims of a natural illusion they in turn related their own experiences of the heavenly music and the angelic message and went back to their humble tasks with glad-

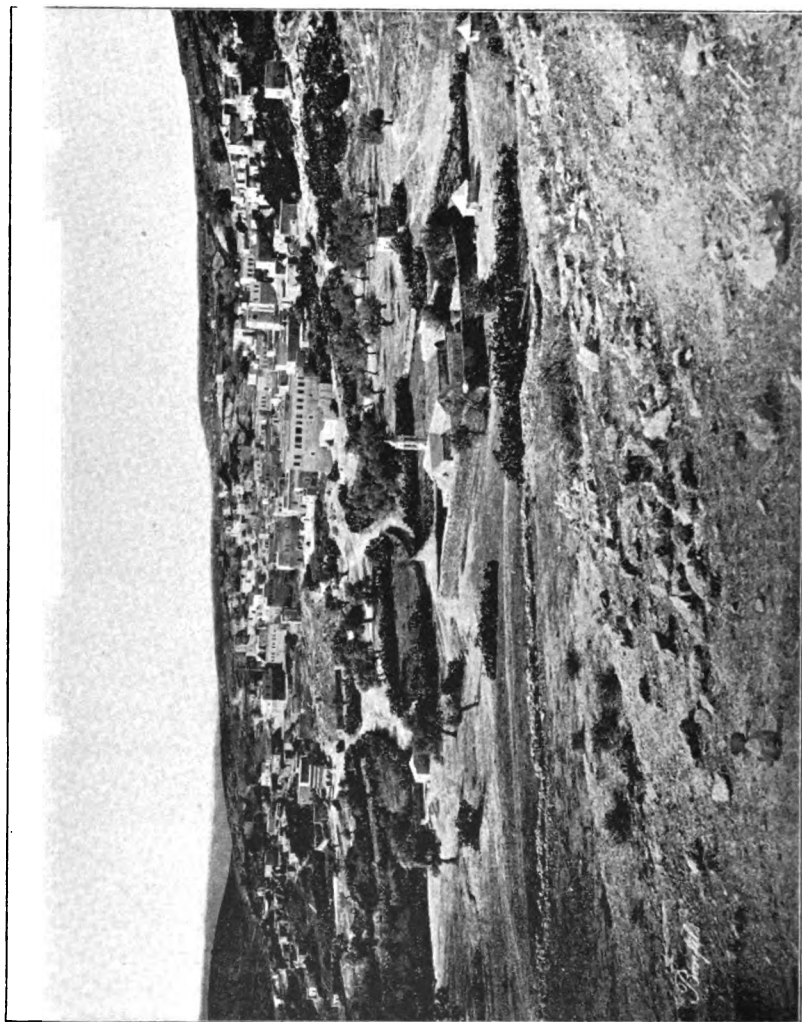
der hearts, leaving those who heard their story in a state of greater wonderment and keener expectation.

The next scene portrayed by the evangelist carries us into the Temple. The law required in the case of a first born male child, first the admission of the child into the body politic by the administration of the rite of circumcision. This was duly performed on the eighth day, and the child received the significant name designated by the angel of the Annunciation to both the parents. The further requirements of the law were the ceremony of the redemption of the first born, and the purification of the mother. Though there might be a possible difference of ten days in the dates of these two events, yet if convenience called for it the ceremony of redemption might be put off and the two services rendered at the same time, *i. e.*, on the forty-first day after the birth of the child. On this day, therefore, Joseph and Mary appeared at the Temple with the offering prescribed for the poor on such occasions, "a pair of turtle-doves or two young pigeons." But scarcely had this service been performed, signifying once more the human and lowly condition of the Infant Christ, before it was counterbalanced by a new testimony to his divine origin and mission. Simeon, a devout man and just, and "waiting for the consolation of Israel," came by the Spirit into the Temple" as this legal ceremony was being ended, and taking the Infant in his arms, poured forth that noble song of praise and gratitude which has remained a religious classic to all the generations following, that song which was also a prophecy of the Child's world-wide mission and of the mother's heart-wound consequent on his earthly suffering. And as if woman also should not be unheard at this first testimony to the Messiah, Anna, "a prophetess, the daughter of Phanuel, of the tribe of Aser, of a great age, who had lived with an husband seven years from her virginity, and was a widow of fourscore years and four, which departed not from the Temple, but served God with fasting and prayers night and day," steps forth from her otherwise unknown career, and adds her voice to that of Simeon in the recognition of the Messianic character and mission of the Child.

These utterances contributed towards the confirmation if not

indeed towards the formation of the resolve by Joseph that he would not return to despised Nazareth but take his abode at Bethlehem and ply his trade there with a view to associating the "Son of David" with his ancestral history and mission in the "City of David." But this was a resolution which he was not destined to carry out. A danger arose presently from an unexpected quarter. Certain Magi, in whose bosoms the great hope of the age had found lodgment, were led either by a direct supernatural sign in the skies designed especially to inform them that their hope was realized, or by a natural phenomenon interpreted by them under supernatural guidance as the sign of the advent of the Deliverer they expected, made their appearance in the capital of Judea; they went to the very palace of Herod publicly declaring their desire to find the new-born king. But that crafty and unscrupulous usurper, moved to suspicion and dread by the least hint of opposition or rivalry, immediately determined to use these "wise men" in putting out of the way the object of their search. To this end he helped them through the learned scribes to find the approximate place of the new king's birth and depended on their further investigations for the exact details that should lead him to strike the fatal blow at his rival. This then was the danger, and how serious it was no one can fail to realize who has learned of the unnumbered atrocities committed by the bloodthirsty monarch even on his nearest kin. A two-fold warning was given to shield the infant Jesus from the murderous design of the tyrant. The Magi were directed, after their act of homage, to depart without again communicating with Herod. And more effectively still the warning was given to Joseph to flee out of the land altogether.

Thus the holy family, crossing the boundary between Palestine and Egypt, passed out of the jurisdiction of Herod. In vain this bloodthirsty tyrant, true to his nature, ordered the infamous massacre of the innocents; the Holy Child was safe in the arms of a Providence whose purposes are never defeated. Herod's days of blood and hatred were, however, nearing their end at the time. He probably did not survive the murder of the infants of Bethlehem by many weeks. When the news of



NAZARETH.

his death reached the ears of Joseph, he naturally determined to return from his temporary exile. He had not, perhaps, heard, when he started on his homeward journey, of the disposition made by the Roman emperor regarding the government of Palestine. If he had any hopes of again settling down in Judea with Mary and Jesus, he was led to abandon them as he learned that Archelaus was assigned the rule of this division of Palestine. The ruler had signalized his accession to power by deeds of cruelty that portended ill for the land as well as for any Messianic plans in behalf of Jesus. Thus Providence by closing up Judea as a place of residence to him seemed to compel his going back to Nazareth in spite of its proverbially bad reputation.

With the arrival of the holy family at Nazareth the period of the childhood of Jesus closes. In a single verse the inspired narrative gives all that could possibly bear on this portion of the earthly career of the Saviour. "And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit filled with wisdom: and the grace of God was upon him." The early generations of Christians, ignoring the distinction between the life of the Saviour of the world and the life of Jesus of Nazareth, vainly sought to fill the apparent gap in the gospels. In the search for the information that was to complete the supernatural life they conjured those fantastic and in many cases absurd and repulsive traditions of the infancy which are woven together into the mythical accounts of the apocryphal gospels. Let it suffice to know that the childhood of Jesus in Nazareth was that of an ideal child in a quiet godly home presided over by an upright man and directed by a tender and pure woman.

THE MINISTRY OF CHRIST.

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HISTORY has only begun to translate into terms of its own that brief career of less than four years which it is usual to designate the ministry of Christ. In the few pages that follow I would fain aid the reader in forming an approximately correct conception of the ministry as a whole, in the first place by outlining its external movement, then by interpreting its inner plan and method. The question may be put very simply: What did Christ do, and how did he do it? What course did he take as he proceeded step by step to fulfil his mission and, in the words of Lange, "Lay the foundations of a new world deep in the spiritual life of humanity?"

One remark should be made at the outset. The subject of this paper is substantially coëxtensive with that of the gospel history. The "gospel" in that early apostolic use of the word which Mark adopts—does not attempt to narrate the *life* of Jesus, but his ministry, his life when it emerges into history; the opening chapters of Matthew and Luke, and the prologue of John are preliminary to the consecutive narrative which forms the body of the evangelical record. These four years, taking that broader conception which includes in Christ's ministry the preparatory and coöperative labor of John the Baptist, constitute substantially *the* subject of the gospel history.

ITS EXTERNAL FRAMEWORK.

This phase of the subject must be briefly treated. Our Lord's work was confined to the Holy Land, and that not merely in a territorial sense, but to the Jewish communities. There is no evidence that he ever entered Cæsarea, Sepphoris, Tiberias, or any distinctly Gentile city, though possibly he may have done so during his withdrawal to the districts of Tyre and

Sidon. If on one occasion he turned aside to evangelize a Samaritan community, it was partly exceptional, and partly, it may be, by way of recognizing the fact that the Samaritans were not altogether Gentile, but mixed with Jewish blood. In general, however, he adhered to the principle of his mission: "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel."

Christ's ministry will be better understood by following the method of the gospels and incorporating the work of the forerunner as practically a part of it. The words of the apostle Peter fitly mark its proper scope, "Beginning from the baptism of John unto the day that he was received up from us" (Acts 1:22); for John's work continued side by side with that of Christ for a year or more after he had baptized him. If, then, we begin with John's appearance and end with the Ascension, we have an entire period of nearly, perhaps fully, four years. The gospels themselves do not furnish calendar dates in the style of modern history. Still they have a chronology of their own, and in its way most instructive. The following divisions are marked off in the combined narrative with a certain degree of distinctness, though the assigned length of several of them is necessarily conjectural.

The Opening Events: from the coming of John until the public appearance in Jerusalem; ten or twelve months.

The Early Judean Ministry: from the public appearance of Jesus in Jerusalem until his return to Galilee; about eight months.

First Period of the Galilean Ministry: from the return to Galilee until the choosing of the Twelve; from four to six months.

Second Period of the Galilean Ministry; from the choosing of the Twelve until the withdrawal into Northern Galilee; nearly one year.

Third Period of the Galilean Ministry: from the withdrawal into Northern Galilee until the final departure for Jerusalem; about seven months.

The Perean Ministry: from the final departure from Galilee until the final arrival in Jerusalem; about five months.

The Passion Week and the Forty Days: from the final arrival in Jerusalem until the Ascension; nearly seven weeks.

It would be unfair to the reader whose studies in New Testament chronology are in a strictly rudimentary stage not to remind him at this point that no chronological scheme of the gospel history can as yet make any claim whatever to scientific certainty or precision. Even the year of our Lord's crucifixion has not been demonstratively ascertained; so also as to the duration of his ministry agreement among scholars has not yet been reached. Not a few distinguished authorities still adhere to the tri-paschal theory, which reduces the above four years to three, and allows, as it is usually held, hardly so much as a year to the entire ministry in Galilee. But no advocate of that theory has seemed to me to explain with any degree of probability how the crowded synoptic narrative from the choosing of the Twelve to the feeding of the five thousand can be provided for in the limited time which the theory requires; that portion of the narrative, it will be remembered, includes two preaching tours (see Luke 8:1-3 and 9:1-6, with its parallels), each of which is evidently described as covering considerable territory and requiring corresponding time.

THE PLAN AND THE METHOD OF ITS ACCOMPLISHMENT.

Let us now consider the more important question what the Scripture narrative shows Christ's mission in its inner purpose to have been, and in what method he proceeded to carry it into effect. Plan and method there must needs have been. In every realm of intelligence the clearly conceived ideal precedes the highest achievement. Could it have been otherwise here? If the gospels are indeed history and not mere memorabilia, fragmentary annals, they will disclose the fundamental lines on which our Lord wrought at this divine task. If I mistake not, there are three stages of Christ's ministry discernible though not sharply separated from one another, in each of which one feature of Christ's plan is especially prominent.

1. *The evangelization of the Holy Land.* Christ's earlier minis-

try was preëminently an evangelizing ministry. He was first of all, as was John, a herald, announcing a coming kingdom of God. Thus Mark opens his account of the Galilean period, "Jesus came into Galilee, preaching the gospel of God and saying, The time is fulfilled, and the kingdom of God is at hand; repent ye and believe in the gospel;" and from the fourth gospel we learn



TELL HUM—A SUPPOSED SITE OF CAPERNAUM.

that he had been similarly employed in Judea; compare John 3:22 and the introductory verses to the discourse with Nicodemus.

Carrying the glad tidings to the people at large,—this is the characteristic feature of the first half, roughly speaking, of the entire ministry, a period of nearly two years, particularly of his own personal labors. From the coming of John the Baptist to the choosing of the Twelve may be properly called the period of *Evangelization*. From that time on that part of his work was

to a greater extent delegated to his disciples. During the third tour among the cities and villages of Galilee, probably lasting several months, the greater part of it was evidently performed by the Twelve. Later on the same method was applied on a much larger scale, when he appointed the Seventy to traverse Perea and Judea. This appears to have been the most systematic and comprehensive evangelizing campaign of his ministry. It seems evident that it lay in our Lord's plan from the beginning to have the gospel message brought into every Jewish community in Palestine. Thus he brought himself into personal touch with the nation at large. "Good tidings to all the people:" this prophetic word of the angels to the shepherds strikes the keynote of the earlier movement, initiated by John and completed by Christ and his disciples.

In accounting for the tide wave of popular enthusiasm that followed Christ's preaching of the kingdom, we are of course not to omit the factor of miracle. He came with the credentials of a prophet—armed with supernatural power of deed in confirmation of his word of winning grace and of more than human wisdom and power. It is to this phase of his ministry that Peter's remarkable description to Cornelius applies: "God anointed him with the Holy Spirit and with power; who went about doing good and healing all who were oppressed of the devil; for God was with him." It is unnecessary for our present purpose to dwell upon the significance of the miraculous factor in his earlier work as distinguished from the later—sufficient to suggest how it accounts in part for the success of his evangelizing ministry, which indeed appears to have been more successful than many readers of the narrative suppose, who think perhaps only of the one hundred and twenty who came together in Jerusalem after the resurrection, or of the five hundred to whom he appeared in Galilee. That the number of professed disciples was far larger than this will perhaps appear later on.

2. *The founding of the church.* The modern word that will perhaps best serve to describe the second phase of Christ's mission is Organization. The familiar title, Ministry of Christ, is to many imperceptibly misleading. His itinerant life of preach-

ing and miracle-working amid flocking multitudes naturally impresses the imagination, and to the average reader is *the* life of Christ. But he was more than the evangelizing prophet—the preacher to the multitude. He not only announced, he proceeded to found, the kingdom. Lord Bacon assigns the supreme place in history to those who have founded empires, the *Funditores imperiorum*. Jesus was the creator of a society, the builder of the new *Civitas Dei*, the founder of a spiritual empire.

During the long period from the choosing of the Twelve on the Mount of Beatitudes to the final arrival at Jerusalem, about a year and a half, organization is evidently the ruling idea; not merely or chiefly organization external, but that training and development of the corporate life to which the apostle Paul applies the word edification. His time is chiefly, though by no means exclusively, occupied with his disciples. He devotes himself continuously to their instruction; his principal discourses are addressed to them. He speaks now with a loftier tone of authority. The teacher becomes the lawgiver. His words are institutes of morals. The law is not to be abrogated, but obeyed and executed. It is interesting to observe how large a part of the record of the Perea as well as of the Galilean ministry is ethical instruction.

The creation of the apostolate marks the beginning of this long second period and is indeed a typical fact in Christ's whole ministry. But let us not fall into the error, wisely avoided by Canon Gore in his book on *The Church and the Ministry*, of regarding it as the founding of the church—as the first step taken by Christ in the organization of the new society. The true beginning of its corporate life, externally as well as internally, is to be carried back to an earlier stage in the history. The first trace of corporate form in the spiritual organism of Christianity was the institution of baptism; the process of organic differentiation began there. Thus the apostolate was not the genetic nucleus of the church. Neander's position on this question is an impugnable one; the Twelve were organs and representatives of a body already in process of formation.

For let us remember what had taken place during the two

years of evangelization. There had been formed two more or less distinctly marked circles of Christ's disciples. First, as the result of the united work of John and Christ, a numerous aggregate of baptized believers in various parts of Judea, besides many Galileans who were waiting in faith for the coming of the kingdom. Second, an inner circle of those who had from time to time heard the word, Follow me—had attached themselves to his person and were his companions during portions of his ministry. It is these who are frequently referred to as "the disciples" or "his disciples," often when the narrative makes it evident that a larger body than the Twelve is implied. Many of the Seventy were doubtless taken from this circle of disciples.

Now, with the choosing of the Twelve, a still closer circle is formed, its number suggesting a theocratic polity; thus more visibly than upon any one previous occasion, the new kingdom was taking form.

Our space limit forbids following the formative process on through the entire history. It is the distinguishing feature of the Galilean, and indeed of the whole middle period of the ministry. The apostle John, in the doxology with which he opens the Apocalypse, has furnished its appropriate motto: "He made us to be a kingdom."

3. *Redemption.* The third period is that of the passion week and the forty days. Christ's public ministry to the Jewish people ended with Tuesday of the passion week, when he left the temple for the last time, but his ministry of self-revelation to his people of the new covenant continued until "the day when he was taken up."

Less than seven weeks, but how eventful! It deserves attention that nearly one-third of the entire gospel narrative is devoted to the passion week alone. Space cannot here be taken even to enumerate the decisive events and utterances, so swiftly does act follow act in the momentous drama.

The scene for the most part is Jerusalem. Christ's evangelizing ministry covered all Palestine; the founding of the church is chiefly associated with Galilee; the final conflict and victory must take place in the Holy City—the City of the Great King.

Three events stand out conspicuous—the crucifixion, the resurrection, the exaltation; a scriptural abridgment, so to speak, of the last days. Indeed, these three events became in apostolic thought almost a summary of the life of Christ—the very essence of historical Christianity.



BETHANY

What now is the master thought of this last period, the key to this part of the plan? The student of the New Testament is not left in doubt as to the true answer—Redemption. He who alone could furnish an authoritative answer spoke it as he was approaching the Holy City. "For the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a *ransom* (λύτρον) for many." Apostolic thought grasped this clue firmly from first to last. So Peter: "Ye were redeemed . . . with precious blood . . . even the blood of Christ." So Paul to the Ephesians: "In whom we have our redemption through his blood." So the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews: "But Christ . . .

through his own blood entered in once for all into the holy place, having obtained eternal redemption." And finally John, from the heights of Patmos, in the words of the doxology cited above: "Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us (*ἔλυσεν*, *set free*, a verb cognate to the noun above) from our sins by his blood, to him be the glory and the dominion for ever and ever."

These Last Days begin with conflict and end with victory. One of the tasks of Christian thought is to penetrate to the meaning of these varied experiences of conflict, suffering, and death by which redemption was accomplished. "Consider him that hath endured such gainsaying of sinners;" this exhortation of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which indeed is a running commentary on the redemptive aspect of the ministry, applies especially to the Last Days. History as well as art helps to set in a vivid light, the moral majesty of the Redeemer-Prince as first in the Temple on the Monday and Tuesday of the Passion week, and then during the trial on Friday, he confronts his adversaries—that compactly organized hagiocracy, priestly and Pharisaic, imposing in its wealth and aristocratic prestige, and in spite of its degeneracy so powerful, morally and intellectually, as to shape at times the whisper of the imperial throne. Upon these scenes history has thrown its light; there are others before which its torch burns dim. Presences from the unseen world take part; moral forces come into play whose measure it cannot take. "What do they mean," said Luther, pausing over the story of Gethsemane, "What kind of words are these, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death'? I hold these for the greatest words in the whole Bible."

But mysteries meet us not in Gethsemane only, but at the cross and the empty tomb, mysteries which the evangelists do not pause in their singularly objective narrative to explain, and which would be utterly insoluble, but for the copious interpretation in the subsequent pages of the New Testament, rendering more than one obscure fact luminously intelligible to Christian faith. And as with the narrative of conflict and suffering, so also is it with that of the victory and triumph—the resurrection, the bodily reappearances, and the ascension from Olivet. The dynamics of

the resurrection life can be made rational only in the light of revelation.

If it be said that the foregoing exposition has gradually shifted its point of view, and professing to be historical has become theological, in a sense it is true. But the events of these Last Days in a preëminent sense lie on the boundary of two worlds, the



GETHSEMANE AND THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

seen and the unseen. The history that does not sit at the feet of revelation can never hope to interpret them, or even the life of Christ at all.

Neander has eloquently and truly said at the close of his *Life of Christ*: "The end of Christ's appearance on the earth corresponds to its beginning. No link in its chain of supernatural facts can be lost without taking away its significance as a whole. Christianity rests upon these facts, stands or falls with them. By faith in them has the divine life been generated from the beginning. By faith in them has that life in all ages

regenerated mankind, raised them above the limits of earthly life, changed them from *glebae adscriptis* to citizens of heaven, and formed the stage of transition from an existence chained to nature to a free celestial life raised far above it. Were this faith gone, there might indeed remain many of the *effects* of what Christianity had been ; but as for Christianity in the true sense, as for a Christian church, there could be none."

THE TEACHING OF CHRIST IN THE GOSPELS OF MATTHEW, MARK, AND LUKE.¹

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Groups of New Testament books representing distinctive types of Christian thought—The teaching of Jesus as presented in the synoptic gospels:—The Kingdom of God; the Fatherhood of God; the inestimable value of man; righteousness, and the relation of faith and conduct to it; Jesus' view of himself; his teaching concerning his own experience; the necessity and value of suffering.

AMONG the writings that make up the New Testament there are certain books or groups of books that are distinguished from the rest by peculiarities of thought and speech on the great theme of all the books, the good that came to the world through Jesus Christ. They differ in this respect, not only from the other books but from each other. The books, or groups of books, referred to present what we may call distinctive conceptions of Christianity; so many varied types or aspects of the common gospel. The books I mean are the first three gospels, the leading epistles of St. Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews and the fourth gospel bearing the name of John. No thoughtful reader, even though he be not a theological expert, can fail to notice that these books, as compared with the rest, are full of deep thought on the subject of religion, as distinct from mere historical narrative such as you can find in the Book of Acts, and from practical exhortations to godly living such as form the bulk of the epistles of Peter and James. And it is equally noticeable that the thinking is not all of the same cast, that there is one way of thinking in the words of Jesus as reported in the first three gospels, another in Paul's epistles to the Galatian, Corinthian, and Roman Churches, a third in the Epistle to the Hebrews, and a fourth in the fourth gospel.

¹ This is the first of four articles to appear in the BIBLICAL WORLD on Four Types of Christian Thought in the New Testament.

These four types of Christian thought it ought to be worth our while to study. Yet diversity of opinion on this point is not inconceivable. The man who looks at the Scriptures from a purely practical point of view—the pastor, *e. g.*, whose interest is in homiletics, not in biblical theology—may think it his duty to ignore these distinctions, or if that be impossible, to reduce their extent and significance to a minimum. His desire is to find one uniform gospel in the New Testament, not a gospel with four phases or faces, still less four gospels that cannot be reconciled with one another. With this last *pium desiderium* we can all sympathize, as we probably all believe that it finds satisfaction in the writings concerned. Few now accept the dictum of Dr. Baur that in the New Testament is to be found not only variety but contradiction. But short of contradiction there may be very interesting variety which it would repay not only the biblical scholar but the preacher to become acquainted with. Noting such a variety must at the least lend to the books in which it appears, a *picturesque* interest, the attraction that belongs to well defined individuality. It may also turn out that the books so individualized, while not contradicting, supplement each other, so that from all taken together in their unmitigated distinctiveness, we can gather a larger, fuller, more many-sided view of the gospel than it is possible to obtain from any one of them. With this conviction I propose to make in four papers an elementary study on the books I have named. And first on the *Synoptical Gospels*, as the first three gospels are named by scholars because of their resemblance to each other.

In these gospels one expression occurs more frequently than in any other part of the New Testament—*The Kingdom of God*, or as it is usually given in Matthew, *The Kingdom of Heaven*. It occurs so often as to suggest the inference that it was Christ's name for the *highest good*, the great divine boon he came to proclaim and bestow. The good news of God, the gospel he had to preach, the synoptists being witness, was that the kingdom of God was come. What he meant thereby is nowhere formally and precisely explained. Jesus gave no abstract definitions of terms such as we are accustomed to; neither of the kingdom of God,

nor of his name for God, Father, nor of his favorite name for himself, *Son of Man*. He defined simply by discriminating use, introducing his leading words and phrases in suggestive connections of thought which would gradually familiarize hearers at once with word and with meaning. One clue to the sense of Christ's great words is, of course, Old Testament prophecy. With the oracles of Hebrew prophets he was very familiar; with the bright hopes these expressed he was in full sympathy, and by their graphic forcible language his own diction was colored. But these oracles, nevertheless, must be used with caution as a key to the interpretation of his words. For Jesus was in a marked degree original, putting new meanings into old phrases, and so transforming many current conceptions that, while the words were the same, the sense was widely different. In his time and in the land of Israel, all men who professed religion talked about the kingdom of God; John, surnamed the Baptist, the teachers in the Jewish schools called Rabbis, and the very strict people called Pharisees. The dialect was one but the meaning various. The Baptist meant one thing, the Pharisees another, and Jesus meant something very different from either. The expression in itself is vague and elastic and leaves room for differences in sense as wide as between political and ethical or spiritual, national and universal.

Leaving Rabbis and Pharisees out of account, it is not difficult to discriminate between the Baptist's conception and that of Jesus. The difference may be broadly put thus: In John's mouth the announcement that the kingdom was coming was *awful* news, in the mouth of Jesus *good* news. John sought to scare people into repentance by talking to them of an axe that was to be employed by a great coming One to cut down barren fruit trees, and a fan to winnow wheat and chaff, and of fire and judgment that were to sweep away and consume all chaff-like men. Jesus, on the other hand, went about among the synagogues of Galilee speaking about the kingdom in a way that did not terrify but win, awakening trust and hope even among the irreligious and immoral. People marveled at the "words of grace" which proceeded out of his mouth (Luke 4:22). Cor-

responding to this difference in the preaching, was the difference in religious temper prevailing among the disciples of the two Masters. John's disciples were a sad company; they fasted often and made many prayers on an ascetic method. The disciples of Jesus did not fast. They were in no fasting mood; they rather resembled a wedding party, as Jesus himself hinted in the parable of the children of the bride-chamber, spoken in defense of his disciples for neglect of fasts observed both by the disciples of John and by the Pharisees (Matt. 9:15).

Probably the surest guide to Christ's idea of the kingdom, and the most satisfactory explanation of the happy mood of those who accepted his evangel, is to be found in the name he gave to God, "Father." We do not indeed find anywhere in the gospels a saying of Jesus formally connecting the two words "kingdom" and "Father" as mutually interpretative terms. As Jesus did not deal in abstract definitions, so as little did he think in system. He did not say to his disciples: "My gospel is the announcement that the kingdom of heaven is at hand, and what I mean by the kingdom of heaven is: God obtaining sovereign influence over human hearts by paternal love in virtue of which he calls all men, even the basest, his sons, freely pardons their offenses, and invites them to participate in fullest family privilege and fellowship." But when you find an unsystematic religious teacher using constantly two words representing two cardinal religious ideas, you cannot help concluding that a real, radical, if unexpressed, synthesis unites them in his mind, and that kingdom and fatherhood, though formally as distinct as a kingdom and a family, are for him only different names for the same thing. The king rules by paternity and the father by his love becomes king.

The frequency with which the name Father is applied to God is a characteristic of the synoptic gospels as compared with the other books of the New Testament. It occurs no less than fifteen times in the Sermon on the Mount. And the reference of the name, in many instances at least, is to a relation between God and men. The standing phrase in the Sermon on the Mount is *your Father* or *thy Father*. In the fourth gospel it is

otherwise. The prevailing expression there is *the Father*, as if pointing to a unique exclusive divine relation between *God* and *Jesus*, theological rather than human. The humanity of the divine fatherhood in the first three gospels is very wide, embracing not only disciples, though they are sons in the first rank, but men indiscriminately, publicans, sinners, evil as well as good, just as well as unjust (Matt. 5:45), prodigals all, nevertheless sons. This also is changed in the fourth gospel. The sons of God there are believers in Jesus, born of the spirit; all others are simply sons of the evil one.

Along with the synoptic account of Christ's idea of God goes an equally characteristic view of his idea of man. From the former we could have inferred what the latter must have been, even in absence of interpretative texts. If all men even at the lowest be God's sons, recipients of his providential benefits, objects of his gracious paternal solicitude for their highest spiritual well-being, what worth man even at the worst must have for God and ought to have for himself and for fellow-men! The doctrine of the divine Father says to all who have ears to hear: Let it never be forgotten that every man even at the lowest has that in him which has inestimable value for God; therefore let no man despair of himself, and let no man in pride despise his degraded brothers. But Jesus did not leave so important a truth to be a matter of logical inference from another truth. He expressly affirmed man's absolute infinite significance. But he did this in his own inimitable way, quaint, kindly, pathetic and even humorous. Instead of saying in philosophic terms: "Man possesses absolute worth," he quaintly asked: "Is not man (any man) better (of more importance) than flowers, fowls of the air, sparrows, than a sheep or an ox, or even a whole world?" The very inadequacy of most of these comparisons invests them with pathos and power. "Of more value than many sparrows!" Men, in the weakness of their trust, and in the depressing sense of their insignificance, need such humble estimates to help them rise to higher faith and bolder self-respect, and the use of them by Jesus is signal evidence of his deep sympathy and also of his poetic tact and

felicity. I value greatly these simple naïve questions of Jesus preserved for us in the synoptic gospels as a contribution to the doctrine of man. There is nothing like them elsewhere in the New Testament; nothing so good, so expressive and impressive, so suggestive, so humanely sympathetic, so quietly, yet severely condemnatory of all low unloving estimates of human worth. Compare with these questions of Jesus, Paul's "Doth God take care for oxen?" Jesus could not have asked that question with an implied negative in his mind. His doctrine was: "God does care even for oxen, but for men more."

One of the great key-words of the Bible throughout is *righteousness*. Prophets, apostles, Jesus, Paul, all use the word and mean by it *in the main* the same thing; yet not without shades of difference. In the synoptic account of Christ's teaching, the idea of righteousness occupies a very prominent place. The aim of a great part of the Sermon on the Mount is to determine what the true idea of righteousness is. Here again we may assume that in the mind of Jesus the ideas of kingdom, father, righteousness were so closely related, that having once ascertained what he meant by any one of the terms you could determine for yourself the meaning of the other two. We find all three ideas connected together in the text "Seek ye his (the father's) kingdom and righteousness" (Matt. 6:33). Seeing then, that the kingdom is the kingdom of the Father, therefore, a kingdom of love, it may be inferred that the righteousness of the kingdom, in the conception of Jesus, is, to begin with, a righteousness of trustful surrender to the loving kindness of the Father in heaven. It is not a legal righteousness as between two persons one of whom makes a demand which the other strives to comply with. It is on man's part towards God trust in his benignant grace. God gives, we receive; and receiving is our righteousness towards the divine giver, whereby we give God credit for benignity and cherish toward him the feeling such an attribute inspires. Such trust in our Heavenly Father, we infer, must be a quite fundamental element in the righteousness of the kingdom. Do the evangelic texts bear out this inference? They do. In the synoptic records of our Lord's words, *faith* holds

a prominent place. "I have not found so great faith, no, not in Israel." "Thy faith hath made thee whole." "O woman, great is thy faith; be it unto thee as thou wilt," and so on. We may say that faith was Christ's watchword, as repentance was John's. Very significant in connection with Christ's conception of righteousness is the saying,—one of the most remarkable as well as most indubitably authentic in the records—"I came not to call the righteous but sinners." It was spoken in connection with the censured festive meeting with the publicans of Capernaum, and the word "call" must therefore be taken in a kindred sense as denoting an invitation to a feast. That is to say, Jesus conceived of the kingdom of heaven, the *summum bonum*, for the moment, as a *feast*, and from that point of view the one thing required of those who are called is readiness to respond to the invitation. That redeeming virtue even publicans and sinners may possess. In this one point they may leave hopelessly behind far more reputable persons, the "righteous" as judged by current standards. They actually did, Jesus himself being witness. That was why he said: "I came not to call the *righteous* but *sinners*." He found that the "righteous," however good and worthy they might be, did not come to his call, while the "sinners" did. And he counted the coming of the sinners for righteousness. It was the one bit of righteousness still possible to them. However bad they might be otherwise, they could believe in the goodwill of God even to the like of them. They might have been with equal impartiality breakers of the Ten Commandments and of the commandments of the scribes, yet you could not say there was no root of goodness in men who received the tidings of a Father capable of loving such scandalous reprobates. In intrinsic value and in promise for the future, that receptivity of the worthless might outweigh the abounding moral respectabilities of the worthy.

Of course we do not expect to find that this initial righteousness of the sinful is a full inventory of the righteousness of the kingdom as set forth in the teaching of Jesus. Prodigal sons do well in returning to the Father's house, but once there it will be expected of them that they shall live a truly filial life. The

teaching of Jesus, as reported by the synoptists, supplies ample materials for constructing the ideal of that life. The Sermon on the Mount is especially rich in such material. The body of the discourse is really a portrayal in a series of tableaux of filial righteousness. The artist has employed for his purpose the method of contrast, using the righteousness in vogue, that of the scribes and Pharisees, as a foil to show forth the beauty of the true moral ideal. Jesus had never, like the apostle Paul, been a disciple of the scribes, and the fact is of much significance in connection with the difference perceptible between his conception of righteousness and that of the apostle. He had never, I say, been a *disciple* of the scribes, but he had evidently been a faithful *student* of their ways. Witness the vivid delineations of their moral characteristics in the gospels, which, taken together, constitute Christ's negative doctrine of righteousness, setting forth what the righteousness of the kingdom is not. There is much of this negative doctrine in the Sermon on the Mount, for not otherwise than by the method of comparison could the preacher have made his meaning clear to his hearers. But we may disregard the contrast and state in positive terms the drift of the Teaching on the Hill on the subject of righteousness. It may be summed up in two words: be to God all that a son should be to a *father*; treat fellow men as *brethren*. Unfolded, the first word means: seek your Father's honor (Matt. 5:16); imitate his character, even in its most sublime virtues, such as magnanimity (5:45, 48); trust his providence (6:25 f.); cherish towards him as your Father in Heaven sincere reverence, manifesting itself in devout adoration and humble petitions (6:9 f.); value supremely his judgment which looks into the heart of things and not merely at the surface; so shunning vulgar ostentation, religious parade, in almsgiving, fasting, praying, and the like, with insatiable appetite for the good opinion of men (6:1-6). Similarly unfolded, the second word means: be not content with merely not killing a fellow man; cherish toward him as a brother a love which shall make it impossible to hate him or despise him (5:21 f.); be not satisfied with abstaining from acts of impurity towards a woman, regard her as a sister whose honor shall be for

thyself inviolable even in thought, and in reference to others an object of zealous defense (5:27 f.). Be not the slave of legal claims: an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. Assert your moral rights by renouncing your legal ones, refusing to be provoked into retaliation by any amount of injustice or unbrotherliness (5:38 f.). Acquiesce in no conventional classification of men as friends and foes, neighbors and enemies; let all be friends and neighbors, or let foes and strangers be distinguished, as the objects of a more chivalrous love, so overcoming evil with an absolutely invincible good (5:43 f.).

More might be said on the topic of righteousness. In the synoptical account of our Lord's teaching the righteousness of the kingdom is sometimes presented under the aspect of single-hearted absolute devotion to the interests of the kingdom, or to the will of its king. Contenting myself with simply hinting this, I go on to notice in the last place the account given in the first three gospels of Christ's way of speaking concerning himself.

The synoptical evangelists do not conceal their conviction that the subject of their narrative is a great personage. They hold a creed about him, viz., that he is the person in whom were fulfilled the messianic hopes of the Jews. And they all further represent Jesus himself as holding this view of his own vocation. Yet they are careful to make it plain that Jesus did not parade this claim, but kept it well in the background, as if it were a secret not to be promulgated till its true significance could be understood. The Jesus of the synoptists puts on no grand airs, but is a meek and lowly man. The meek and lowly mind of Jesus found its verbal symbol in the oft-used self-designation *Son of Man*. For there can be little doubt that it is in this direction we must look for the true meaning of the name. Jesus nowhere defines its meaning, any more than he defines the name he gave to God. Here, as always, he defines only by discriminating use. We must listen attentively as he calls himself "Son of Man," and strive to catch the sense of the title from the tone and accent of the speaker. To do this successfully wants a fine, sensitive, sympathetic ear, unfilled with other sounds which blunt its perceptive faculty. For lack of such an ear,

men may get very false impressions and read all sorts of meanings into the simple phrase, meanings laboriously collected from Old Testament texts or suggested by systems of theology. To my ear the title speaks of one who is sympathetic and unpretentious; loves men and advances no ambitious claims. He may be great in spite of himself, by his gifts and graces even *unique*; but these must speak for themselves. He will not take pains to point them out, or advertise his importance as their possessor. The Son of Man is *the Man*, the brother of men, loving humanity with a passionate love which fits him to be the world's Christ, and his attitude is that of one who says: "Discover what is deepest in me and draw your own inference."

The faithful preservation of this name, bearing such an import, by the synoptical evangelists is a service deserving the gratitude of Christendom. It is not to be found elsewhere in the New Testament, *at least in the same sense*. It is entirely absent from the epistles. It occurs frequently in the fourth gospel, but in novel connections of thought, as a foil to the divine nature of the Logos, as the name for the human aspect of Deity incarnate, theological rather than ethical in its connotation. We worship the Son of Man of the fourth gospel as we worship the "Lord" of St. Paul, but we love as our brother the lowly, gracious, winsome, comrade-like Son of Man, of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. We refuse not the worship, but we wish to begin with fellowship on equal terms, as if we belonged to the inner Jesus-circle, to the band of men who were the companions of the Son of Man.

We have to note finally the manner in which, according to the synoptists, Jesus expressed himself concerning his *experience*. Now as to this I remark, in the first place, that Jesus seems to have possessed from the very beginning of his public life intuitive insight into the truth that a genuinely good, godly life could not be lived in the world without trouble. He knew the world he lived in so well, especially the religious world, that tribulation, contradiction, malediction, and worse appeared to him a matter of course for any one who saw, spoke, and acted in accordance with the real truth in religion and

morals. This was plain to him, I believe, before he left Nazareth to enter on his prophetic career. His anticipations were very soon verified. He had not well begun his ministry before the scribes and Pharisees began to watch his movements and wait for his halting. Hence those significant hints in the utterances even of the earlier period at days coming when the disciples would have occasion to mourn and fast (Mark 2:20). Jesus divined that the ill will already manifest would ere long ripen into murderous purpose, and that he would become the victim of scribal conceit and Pharisaic malevolence. But of this, always clear to himself he spoke to his disciples at first only in mystic, veiled language. As the fatal crisis drew near, he began to speak plainly, realistically, unmistakably, of the approaching passion, saying that "The Son of Man must suffer many things and be rejected of the elders and of the chief priests and scribes, and be killed." No sooner did he begin to speak thus realistically of the harsh tragic fact, than by way of reconciling distressed disciples to the unwelcome fact he began to instruct them as to its significance. His first lesson on the import of the passion was a statement to the effect that his coming sufferings were no isolated phenomenon in the moral universe, but only a signal instance of the operation of a universal law: cross-bearing inevitable not only for the Master, but for all faithful disciples. This is a distinctive contribution of the gospels (including John's) to the doctrine of the significance of Christ's death. It is the ethical foundation of the doctrine on which all theological constructions must rest. It is not found in Paul's epistles, in which the sufferings of Christ are regarded as *sui generis*, and from an exclusively theological point of view. It is Christ's answer to a question handed down from the prophets: Why do the righteous suffer? His reply to that question, so earnestly and yet unsuccessfully discussed in the Book of Job, is, in the first place: "They suffer just because they are righteous; their tribulations are the inevitable reaction of an unrighteous world against all earnest attempts to make God's will law in all things." But this reply while true, can hardly be the whole truth. It is not much of a comfort to be told that suffering for righteousness' sake is inevitable. One

would like to know whether the inevitable evil can in any way be transmuted into good. According to the synoptical reports Jesus had something to say on that question also. In effect this was what he said: First, it would turn evil into good for your own feeling, if you could once for all cheerfully accept cross-bearing as the law of discipleship, and take suffering not as an unavoidable, unwelcome calamity, but as an exhilarating experience that lifts you into the heroic region of freedom, buoyancy, and irrepressible, perpetual joy. "Blessed are ye when men shall persecute you; rejoice and be exceeding glad" (Matt. 5:11, 12). Jesus so took his own passion, lovingly, generously, shedding his blood as Mary shed her box of precious ointment on his head (Mark 14:8). But, secondly, it would still more turn evil into good if one could be assured that cross-bearing brings not only exaltation of feeling to the sufferer, but benefit even to others, even to those who laid the cross on your shoulders, benefit to the cause for which you suffer. It is even so, said Jesus in effect to his disciples: suffering is redemptive, it is the price one pays for power to benefit the world. He affirmed this truth in reference to his own suffering experience, in two texts, both of which may be confidently accepted as authentic. "The Son of Man came not to be ministered unto but to minister and to give his life a ransom for many" (Mark 10:45); "This is my blood of the New Testament which is shed for many for the remission of sins" (Matt. 26:28). These are great, broad utterances, suggesting deep questions which theology has been trying to answer by its various theories of atonement. Pending a final answer securing universal concurrence, this much is clear from our Lord's words: that his death was not a mere fate but a beneficent event serving high ends in the moral order of the world; procuring for man spiritual benefits. It is a legitimate inference that to some extent the same principle applies to the sufferings of the righteous in general, and that no sacrificial life is in vain, that every such life contributes its quota to the redemption of the world. Jesus is the Captain of Salvation who by his unique merit saves all. But the saved are in turn saviours in proportion as they live and die in Christ's spirit.

THE TEACHING OF CHRIST IN THE GOSPEL OF JOHN.

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The trustworthiness of the fourth gospel—Differences between it and the synoptic gospels—Considerations that modify the significance of these differences—General consistency of all four accounts—Teachings of the fourth gospel as to the divinity of Jesus—Miracles as manifestations and occasions of teaching—The death of Jesus as a teaching—Christ and man's inner life.

THE title of this paper confronts us with the necessity of enquiring whether the discourses and sayings of Jesus reported in the fourth gospel may be accepted as genuine; whether, in short, there are any "teachings of Christ" in the Gospel of John. Many critics of repute have held and hold that the words ascribed to our Lord in this gospel are wholly or almost wholly fictitious. And there is so much plausibility in what they adduce in support of this averment, and so much real difficulty in the way of accepting as genuine all that we find in this gospel ascribed to Christ that it is imperative to come to some understanding in the matter.

What test, then, can we apply to the discourses reported in the fourth gospel; have we any criterion by which they may be judged? The reports in the synoptic gospels at once suggest themselves as the required criterion. Doubts there may be regarding the very words ascribed to our Lord in this or that passage of the synoptists, doubts there must be whether we are to follow Matthew or Luke when these two differ; but practically there is no doubt at all even among extreme critics that we may gather from those gospels a clear idea both of the form and of the substance of our Lord's teaching.

Now it is not to be denied that the comparison of the fourth gospel with the first three is a little disconcerting. For it is obvious that in the fourth gospel the discourses occupy a different position, and differ also both in style and in matter from

those recorded in the synoptical gospels. They occupy a different position, bulking much more largely in proportion to the narrative. Indeed the narrative portion of the Gospel of John may be said to exist for the sake of the verbal teaching. The miracles which in the first three gospels appear as the beneficent acts of our Lord without ulterior motive seem in the fourth gospel to exist for the sake of the teaching they embody and the discussions they give rise to. Similarly, the persons introduced, such as Nicodemus, are viewed chiefly as instrumental in eliciting from Jesus certain sayings and are themselves forgotten in the conversation they have suggested.

In form the teachings recorded in *John* conspicuously differ from those recorded by the other evangelists. They present our Lord as using three forms of teaching, brief, pregnant apothegms, parables, and prolonged ethical addresses. In *John*, it is alleged, the parable has disappeared, the pointed sayings suitable to a popular teacher have also disappeared, and in their place we have prolonged discussions, self-defensive explanations, and stern invectives. As Renan says; "This fashion of preaching and demonstrating without ceasing, this everlasting argumentation, this artificial get-up, these long discussions following each miracle, these discourses stiff and awkward, whose tone is so often false and unequal, are intolerable to a man of taste alongside the delicious sentences of the synoptists."

Even more marked is the difference in the *substance* of the discourses. From the synoptists we receive the impression that Jesus was a genial, ethical teacher who spent his days among the common people exhorting them to unworldliness, to a disregard of wealth, to the humble and patient service of God in love to their fellow-men, exposing the hollowness of much that passed for religion and seeking to inspire all men with firmer trust in God as their Father. In the Gospel of John, His own claims are the prominent subject. He is the subject-matter taught as well as the teacher. The kingdom of God no longer holds the place it held in the synoptists; it is the Messiah rather than the Messianic kingdom that is pressed upon the people.

On the other hand it has been urged that the style ascribed



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to our Lord in this gospel is so like the style of John himself as to be indistinguishable; so that it is not always possible to say where the words of Jesus end and the words of John begin (see 12:44; 3:18-21). This difficulty may, however, be put aside, and that, for more reasons than one. The words of Jesus are translated from the vernacular Aramaic in which he probably uttered them and it was impossible they should not be colored by the style of the translator. Besides, there are obvious differences between the style of John and that of Jesus. For example, the Epistle of John is singularly abstract and devoid of illustration. James abounds in figure, and so does Paul; but in John's epistles not a single simile or metaphor occurs. Is it credible that this writer was the author of the richly figurative teachings in the 10th and 15th chapters of the gospel (the shepherd and the vine)?

But turning to the real differences which exist between the reports of the first three and the fourth gospel, several thoughts occur which at least take off the edge of the criticism and show us that on a point of this kind it is easy to be hasty and extreme. For, in the first place, it is to be considered that if John had had nothing new to tell, no fresh aspect of Christ or his teaching to present, he would not have written at all. No doubt each of the synoptists goes over ground already traversed by his fellow-synoptist, but it has yet to be proved that they knew one another's work. John did know of their gospels, and the very fact that he added a fourth prepares us to expect that it will be different; not only in omitting scenes from the life of Christ with which already the previous gospels had made men familiar, but by presenting some new aspect of Christ's person and teaching. That there was another aspect essential to the completeness of the figure was, as Dean Chadwick has pointed out, also to be surmised. The synoptists enable us to conceive how Jesus addressed the peasantry and how he dealt with the Scribes of Capernaum; but, after all, was it not also of the utmost importance to know how he was received by the authorities of Jerusalem and how he met their difficulties about his claims? Had there been no record of these defenses of his position, must we

not still have supposed them and supplied them in imagination?

That we have here, then, a *different* aspect of Christ's teaching need not surprise us, but is it not even *inconsistent* with that already given by the synoptists? The universal Christian consciousness has long since answered that question. The faith which has found its resting place in the Christ of the synoptists is not unsettled or perplexed by anything it finds in John. They are not two Christs but one which the four gospels depict: diverse as the profile and front face, but one another's complement rather than contradiction. A critical examination of the gospels reaches the same conclusion. For while the self-assertiveness of Christ is more apparent in the fourth gospel, it is implicit in them all. Can any claim be greater than that which our Lord urges in the Sermon on the Mount, to be the supreme lawgiver and judge of men? Or than that which is implied in his assertion that he only knows the Father, and that only through him can others know Him; or can we conceive any clearer confidence in his mission than that which he implies when he invites all men to come to him, and trust themselves with him, or when he forgives sin, and proclaims himself the Messiah, God's representative on earth?

Can we then claim that all that is reported in this gospel as uttered by our Lord was actually spoken as it stands? This is not claimed. Even the most conservative critics allow that John must necessarily have condensed conversations and discourses. The truth probably is that we have the actual words of the most striking sayings, because these, once heard, could not be forgotten. And this plainly applies especially to the sayings regarding himself which were most likely to astonish or even shock and startle the hearers. These at once and forever fixed themselves in the mind. In the longer discussions and addresses we have the substance but cannot at each point be sure that the very words are given. No doubt in the last resort we must trust John. But whom could we more reasonably trust? He was the person of all others who entered most fully into sympathy with Christ and understood him best, the person to whom our Lord

could most freely open his mind. So that although, as Godet says, we have here "the extracted essence of a savoury fruit" we may be confident that this essence perfectly preserves the flavor and peculiarity of the fruit.

On finding that we may accept this gospel as a trustworthy representation of one aspect of our Lord's teaching, we turn to it and learn that the writer's aim is to reproduce the self-manifestation of Jesus as the Christ, the Son of God. With admirable artistic skill he collects from the life of our Lord those acts and words which most distinctly reveal his Messianic dignity, and he so presents them as to bring out, stage by stage, the growing faith and the ever deepening alienation and hatred which this manifestation elicited. The gospel is essentially an apologetic intended to establish the claim of Jesus to be received as the Christ, the Anointed, in other words, the spiritually equipped representative of God among men. And it accomplishes its object not by an abstract argument, nor like Matthew by showing how Jesus fulfilled prophecy, but by the simple method of gathering from the life of our Lord those words and deeds which most conspicuously and convincingly exhibit his actual revelation of the Father and application of his goodness to men.

The whole teaching of the gospel becomes intelligible when we keep in view that it was the author's purpose to select all that might most distinctly assure men that Jesus was the messenger of God and all that most cordially and pointedly invites men to accept what God sends them. In accordance with this the favorite title by which our Lord designates himself is "He whom the Father hath sent" (5:38; 6:29; 7:29; 17:3, etc.), and a favorite designation of God is "the Father which hath sent me" (5:37; 6:38, 39, 40; 7:16; 8:16, etc.) His great aim is to find acceptance as the Sent of God: "the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me" (5:36). "I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me" (6:38). Above all, and in the first place, men must recognize him as the Father's ambassador, empowered to reveal the divine love and to express it to men. Whatever be his nature, and whatever be

his previous history, it is not to these that attention is drawn, but to the fact of his being the qualified representative of God on earth, the Messiah. If reference is from time to time made to his nature or previous history, this is incidental to the main purpose which always is to present Christ as the commissioned representative of God to men. Hence we need not be surprised if he says little directly of his divine nature.

At the present time it is gravely doubted whether in any utterance recorded in this gospel Jesus claims to be divine. Professor Beyschlag especially has spent much ingenuity in so explaining the passages which have usually been construed in this sense, as to leave no such claim apparent. The title "Son of God" is a Messianic designation and carries with it no intimation of eternal divine existence as son. The expressions which seem to involve the affirmation of preëxistence (6 : 62 ; 8 : 58 ; 17 : 4, 5, 24) only mean that the ideal man existed from eternity in the mind of God. And although he frequently speaks of himself as sent by God and coming down from heaven, these modes of speech are equally applicable and sometimes applied to other men.

Much service has been done by Professor Beyschlag and his fellow workers in compelling us to a stricter exegesis. There is no doubt that the designation "Son of God" is a Messianic title and is sometimes used in this sense in this gospel. Yet this does not explain why Jesus so constantly speaks of himself as "*the* Son" while speaking of God as "the Father." This constant setting of himself, in distinction from other men, in a relation of sonship to the Father, produced in the mind of the Jews the impression that he made himself equal with God. And, what is more to the purpose, the same impression was produced upon the mind of John, his most intimate and best-instructed disciple. It is manifest from the prologue that John believed Jesus to be the Logos or the Eternal Son of God, and how our Lord could have permitted this impression to be left on his mind, if it were erroneous, is not easy to understand. When Jesus declared that he was before Abraham, those who heard him understood him to mean that he was personally alive before Abraham; and if they had thought otherwise and that Jesus only

meant to affirm that he existed from eternity in the mind of God, might not they themselves have claimed a similar existence? Certainly the writers who entered most fully into the mind of Christ were most influential in the permanent establishment of Christianity. John, Paul, and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, believed in his preëxistence.

It was, then, as Messiah that Jesus primarily manifested himself. In the synoptical gospels he is also presented as Messiah, but mainly in the character of the founder of the Messianic kingdom. In John it is rather the more essential nature of the Messiah as the revealer of God and mediator between God and men, which is in view. And John's idea of the actual qualifications which constituted Jesus the Messiah may perhaps most readily be gathered from the miracles recorded. The miracles selected are those which best serve as object lessons, or manifestations in the physical world, of some particular element in the equipment of the Messiah. In these miracles Jesus was the bearer and dispenser of the Father's good-will, and he desired that in and through them he might be recognized as such, and be trusted as the medium through whom men might come into connection with the whole divine fulness.

Accordingly, as the miracles were meant to tell their own story, their teaching is obvious. In the supply of wine which he furnished for the prolongation of the wedding festivities at Cana, there was manifested his glory as the reliever of all poverty and provider of all innocent joy. When he summoned into life and activity the hopelessly impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, it was made apparent that "the Son quickeneth whom he will." In giving sight to the man born blind he revealed himself, more convincingly than by any verbal teaching, as the light of the world; and when he fed the hungry out of his own stores, the intelligent might have seen that he who could thus sustain the body might be trusted as able also to give the bread that endureth to life everlasting. In the crowning miracle of the raising of Lazarus he reveals himself as the resurrection, inviting men to believe that the life he communicates is undying. By these miracles, therefore, he proclaimed himself to men as carrying in his person a divine fulness of life,—the very life of God, as he him-

self says (6:26) and as imparting this life freely to men. "Life" or "life eternal" is the favorite term in this gospel to express the all-comprehending good which Christ brings to men.

That our Lord foresaw that in order to give this "life" its fullest application to men his own death was necessary, is apparent from several passages. Conspicuous among these are his comparison of his own exaltation to the raising of the brazen serpent on the pole (3:14) and the similar language of chapter 12:32, where he intimates that it is by being lifted up he will obtain ascendancy over all men. In the same chapter he utters the memorable words, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die it abideth alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit." It is to minimize the significance of these utterances to find in them only another way of saying, "It is expedient for you that I go away," and to suppose that he looked upon death chiefly as "the passage into a state of glory in which he could act effectively and truly live with his own." It was that; but it was that by virtue of its atoning efficacy. The representative and substitutionary character of his death is brought out in the parable of the Good Shepherd and in his acceptance of the designation applied to him by the Baptist, "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world." The only way in which a lamb can remove sin is by bearing it as a vicarious victim.

Further, in this gospel our Lord throws much light on the means by which men actually become recipients of the life which Christ brings. Evidently there must in the first place be faith in his words and in his person (5:24; 6:29, 68; 1:12, etc.). But the character of this faith and the entireness of the reception which are requisite for making men partakers of the life that is in Christ are most distinctly brought out in the figure of eating and drinking which he uses in the sixth chapter. It is by eating we assimilate to our own life the nutritive properties of our food; so Christ says we must make him as thoroughly our own as eating makes bread our own. We must make his spirit our own, assimilate to ourselves all that is in him to encourage, to guide, to sanctify. We must so use him for all spiritual purposes that we can understand what it means to be one with him. So eating him we possess life eternal.

JESUS AS PREACHER.

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Christ's teaching authoritative, based on knowledge, certain.—His attitude towards the Old Testament; and the legitimacy of biblical criticism.—As to the originality of Christ's teaching.—His homiletic method: His use of opportunity, of rhetorical expedients, of parables.—The equipoise in His preaching.—His elocution.—Christ the Preacher subordinate to Christ the Redeemer.

THE purpose of the present paper is to point out the chief traits which characterized Jesus as preacher or teacher. Some of these characteristic traits are unique in him. Let us begin with one such.

Jesus taught with *authority*. Nothing in his preaching is a trait more marked, more pervasive, more indelibly waterlined into the texture of his discourse, than this. It is, perhaps, the one note in which Jesus, as teacher, is different from all other teachers in the world, before him or after him. Other teachers have, indeed, assumed or affected the tone of authority in their teaching. With some such teachers the assumption has the effect, was designed to have the effect, of only a pleasant complacency on their part; perhaps even of a certain complaisance toward their disciples or readers. Ralph Waldo Emerson is an instance. In form, he is not seldom as authoritative as was Jesus. But no one feels that he is so in spirit and intent. On the contrary, he associates his readers with himself and makes them share with their master a kind of illusory sense of possessing final and oracular wisdom. Neither writer nor reader is deceived in the premises. The air of seer with which such a man speaks is frankly put on. It is a manner, no more.

Not so with the authoritative tone in Jesus. That is no manner merely. It is of himself. It is the natural language of the speaker. Instead of being put on, it is such that it could not even be conceived as put off. Buffon's word is completely



CHRIST AND THE FISHERS.
—ZIMMERMANN.

realized. In the case of Jesus, the style is he. But we do not have to *infer* what, if it were left to be inferred, is so abundantly implied. Jesus himself, in express terms, insists on his own authority as teacher. He said to his disciples, "Ye call me master [teacher] and lord and ye say well, for so I am." Again, "Why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" It was no mere superficial complaisance that this teacher would accept from his disciples, in being addressed by them with a conventional title of deference and respect. He claimed seriously all that his title of lord implied.

Intimately related to the trait just named in Jesus as preacher, indeed almost identical with that, yet of a nature to invite separate mention, is a quality for which our language does not, in any single word, afford an adequate name. We shall have to throw out tentatives, make approximations, in order to express it. We might say that Jesus spoke like a seer, like a prophet, like an oracle. But that would very imperfectly, indeed it would somewhat misleadingly, express the fact. It would, to be sure, set Jesus apart from the order of those whom by way of distinction and honor we call "thinkers." So far, it would be just and good. For Jesus was conspicuously, remarkably, *not* a thinker among thinkers. He is nowhere in the records that we have of him, exhibited to us as going through any of those intellectual processes by which men in general arrive at their results in conviction, true or false. He was not a *seeker* of truth. So far as appears he did not reason, institute inductions, draw inferences. He saw without effort. He did not explore and discover. He saw and announced. He sometimes argued; but this to convince, or rather to convict, his opponents; never to satisfy himself. In the respects thus indicated, Jesus was a seer instead of a thinker. But he was not a seer in the sense of being filled from without with an inspiration to which he served simply as organ of utterance. He was never as one carried out of himself. He spoke indeed from God, but it was in the character of a person at the same time consciously one with God. Let us say that Jesus spoke with *authority*, because he spoke as one that *knew*.

A third note, then, braided inseparably into the tone with which Jesus spoke, was the note of absolute, unshaken, unshakable *certainly*. There is in his utterances no doubt, no faltering, no wavering, no slightest possibility admitted, however remotely, of the speaker's being mistaken. What he teaches has in it the solidity—I was going to say—of the planet itself. But that were a feeble figure of speech. God himself could not be imagined speaking in human words with a more pungent and powerful effect produced of the speaker's *knowing* what he affirmed. The degree of the peculiar effect thus described is such in the case of Jesus that that alone would justify and explain the awe-stricken exclamation of one of his hearers, "Never man spake like this man." Christ's characteristic formula of preface, "Verily, verily," was but a kind of spontaneous, inevitable notice and sign given to hearers, of the ultimate, the absolute, character of certainty inhering in that which was to follow from his lips. How convincing, nay, how overawing, it is, when, for instance, in opposition to traditional doctors of universally accepted authority, Jesus says, "But I say unto you"!

It needs to be said that the traits thus attributed to Jesus as teacher or preacher, traits naturally seeming to involve underived and independent quality in their subject, are strangely, almost paradoxically, reconciled in him with an accompanying trait of subordination and obedience. As a New Testament writer expresses it, "Though he was a Son, yet learned he obedience." The case is one without parallel in respect of this blending and reconciliation of two seeming contraries, supremacy and subjection. The mystery of Christ's person as very God and very man, is involved.

Something like the same mystery and paradox seems also to subsist in the double attitude that Jesus held toward the Old Testament Scriptures. On the one side, he treated them with the utmost reverence. He said, or implied, that their sentence on any point which they touched, was final and irreversible. "For verily I say unto you,"—such is his august and awe-inspiring language—"Till heaven and earth pass one jot or one tittle shall in no wise pass from the law till all be fulfilled." Nothing

could go beyond this in the way of declaring the absolute truth and authority of Old Testament Scripture. And illustration of the same tenor is inwrought everywhere into the fabric of Christ's habitual discourse.

It is, however, to be noted that this accent of reverence on Christ's part for the Old Testament Scriptures, very singularly involves also a tacit assumption on his part of authority belonging to himself, coequal with their own, nay, even transcending that. The language used by Jesus, as, for instance, in the foregoing quotation from his great discourse, is peculiar: "Verily I say unto you." Such expression is that of one affixing a sanction. It is not that of one subscribing a loyal personal adhesion and obedience. It is rather that of one calmly assuming to endorse and to ratify. The New Testament student is not surprised, therefore, to find Jesus saying, with unaffected majesty, of his own words what he had before said of the words of the law: "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away."

It is not to be understood as condemnation from him of what the Old Testament taught, when, in the exercise of his right, Jesus fills out, modifies, or even sets aside, a point of Old Testament teaching. If to say this be paradox, it is no less the truth. The Old Testament had foretold that a Prophet should appear, the antitype of Moses; and Moses himself is represented as bespeaking for that Prophet beforehand obedient heed; "Him shall ye hear," is the bidding. It is as if the Old Testament itself provided for its own amendment. Its letter and its spirit were actually therefore in process of being fulfilled, when its predicted Prophet took upon himself the prerogative of setting it at any point aside; that is, of replacing a provisional arrangement in it with something final and absolute; in Scripture phrase, of removing the things which were shaken that the things which could not be shaken, might remain. The annulment by Jesus of the too lax Mosaic permission of divorce is an instance in point; though this ostensible annulment was, it is true, rather only a carrying out to further strictness of a limitation not stringent enough provisionally appointed by the primitive legislator. It

was completion, not abrogation. The freedom with which Jesus handled the Old Testament Scriptures is thus as marked as his reverence for them. But his freedom in handling them is no derogation from their provisional authority. It is no proof that their just claim was less, while it lasted: but only that *his* just claim was more, who could at points authoritatively define and limit the term of its lasting.

There is one thing further to be remarked on the attitude held by Jesus as public teacher toward the Old Testament Scriptures. Whatever may have been his knowledge in the case, and however different may have been his own individual views on the various points involved, Jesus never disturbed the current popular belief concerning the origin, the date, the authorship, of the various books that in his day composed (as these same books compose in ours) the Old Testament canon. If contemporary belief was mistaken on these points, or on any of them, and if Jesus knew that it was mistaken, he yet did nothing to unsettle it, or to correct it. He left it absolutely as he found it, unchanged, unchallenged.

Such is the fact, the incontestable fact. What does this fact prove? That the contemporary popular belief was right? Hardly. I thus reply, although my own individual opinion is—an opinion long held on grounds of literary criticism alone, and lately confirmed by what seem to be the unquestionable results of archæologic research—that the traditional view on the subject of Old Testament origins and authorships, which view I understand to be substantially the same as that current among the Jews of Christ's time, probably comes much nearer the truth in the case, than any alternative conclusion likely ever to be arrived at and agreed upon by modern higher critics of the ancient sacred canon. Still, Jesus did not, so far as I have been able to see, commit himself, directly or indirectly, on the points involved; and we are left free to infer only that he thought it not worth while to disturb the current belief, even if the current belief were wrong. So Jesus bore himself toward this matter then. Would he so bear himself toward the same matter now? Or, to put our question otherwise, would Jesus still have observed reticence on this topic, if the topic had been in his day a burning one? Our answer

must necessarily be an inferential answer; but to me it seems clear that the whole tone and tenor of his teaching and his life tend in a single direction, and that that direction is to make it probable that Jesus would have put out of his way at once, as things not important enough to engage *his* attention, all questions, though never so burning at the moment, of how, when, by whom, the Old Testament Scriptures were produced. The one thing vital about these Scriptures was that they were from God and were to be revered accordingly.

Does it then follow that men must never inquire and explore as to the genesis and history of the human element in the authorship of the sacred Scriptures? Who would affirm this? But of Christ's purpose in the world, such speculation constituted no part. He came not to gratify intellectual curiosity, but to excite and to satisfy spiritual cravings; in short, to save men. Let those addicted to scientific pursuits make, if they so pleased, scientific quest in the region of Old Testament origins. That, however, was not his own mission; nor was it to be the mission of those whom he would send forth to preach his gospel. Give to science its due, and give to religion its due; render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and to God the things that are God's.

If this hypothetical conclusion as to the attitude of Jesus toward questions of higher biblical criticism be sound, then the way is now absolutely open to science, free from any interdict to be drawn from the example or authority of Christ, to seek and to find what results she justly may, about Old Testament and New Testament origins. But, if we have rightly inferred from the spirit and example of Jesus, the *religious* teacher, teaching in his name, will not do this. It is a scientific, not a religious aim. The results, whatever they may be worth as science, will have no religious value. I mean, of course, so far as they are speculative and uncertain. Where the results are matters of really verified knowledge, they may undoubtedly sometimes be used to advantage in throwing illustrative light on particular passages, perhaps whole tracts, of Scripture, and so subserve a vital religious purpose. Beyond this, the preacher of the gospel has no warrant from the example of his Master in going. It is a pronounced

negative trait in Christ's teaching that he strongly refrained from intermeddling in the burning questions of his time, unless they were religious, and vitally religious, questions. "My kingdom is not of this world," he seemed always to remember. "Who made me a ruler and divider over you?"—this interrogative refusal on his part of intervention in the matter of a disputed inheritance, expressed also his attitude toward public questions of the day on which good men might honestly differ in opinion. Even a question like that of the difference between Samaritan and Jew, though it involved a vital point of religion, he pronounced his sentence upon, frankly indeed, yet with a certain approach to impatience, with an air of dismissal—because the controversy about it was of only a subordinate and temporary importance. The example and influence of Jesus as preacher are wholly in favor of exclusive devotion on the part of his ministers to what is religious, as distinguished from what is intellectual, in interest, this even where that which is intellectual in interest may border closely on religion. It is not meant thus to be implied that some men may not, in a vitally religious spirit, and with a sincerely religious motive in doing so, devote themselves to scientific exploration of the questions involved in the so-called higher criticism of Scripture. Assuredly, men having a conscientious sense of such vocation may freely do this, animated with the hope of discovering what shall serve the cause of religion in the world. But the work thus described is not included either among the specific activities commanded by Jesus to his *ministers*, or among those recommended to them by their Master's example. "Preach the word"—the word, not higher criticism of the word, is still, as it always was, and always will be, the prime injunction to ministers of the gospel.

In the matter and substance of his preaching, Jesus did not claim to be, and he was not, new and original in any such sense, or in any such degree, as will at all account for his unique influence. His doctrine of the Divine Fatherhood was no novelty. The Old Testament contained it, in such expressions as that of the Psalm, "Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him." Or, if this be deemed not uni-

versal enough to match the doctrine of Jesus, then take this, "His tender mercies are over *all* his works;" or this, "O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, for his wonderful works to the children of men!" No particularism there at least, more than in the teaching of Jesus, "He [your Father] maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good," language addressed, however, be it observed, to his *disciples*, and couched in the *second* person, "*Your* Father." Great pains have been expended by hostile critics of Jesus in the attempt to trace everything that he taught to some source earlier than himself. Such critics do not seem to consider that the more they show Jesus not to have been original, or at least not to have been new, in his teaching, the more they make wonderful the power and the spread of his influence. If there was nothing original and new in his doctrine, then his person, his character, *himself*, must alone be relied upon to furnish the explanation of the history that surrounded him living and that has followed him dead.

The one feature in Christ's preaching that might seem to offer an aspect of originality, consists in this, that the ultimate subject and object of his preaching was himself. No other teacher is in this regard comparable to Jesus. "*I* say unto you;" "These sayings of *mine*;" "If *I* then, your *Lord* and *Master*;" "One is your Master, even *Christ*;" "Come unto *me*, all ye that labor and are heavy laden and *I* will give you rest;" "Ye will not come to *me* that ye might have life;" "*I* am the way, and the truth, and the life;" "No man cometh unto the Father, but by *me*." Extraordinary, unparalleled claims; still, it was only in the article of his identifying himself with the promised Messiah, that Jesus propounded in them anything to be called new. The Christ or Messiah of the Old Testament had for ages been preached or predicted in virtually equivalent terms. "Ye search the Scriptures," said Jesus to the caviling Jews, "for in them ye think ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of *me*." To two of his disciples, so it is told us by Luke, Jesus, after his resurrection, beginning from Moses and from all the prophets, interpreted in all the Scriptures the things concern-

ing *himself*. In its essence, therefore, the doctrine of Jesus was not new doctrine, when he made himself the subject and the object of his own preaching.

We have hitherto considered only traits in Jesus the preacher belonging necessarily to him, because he was such as he was in his person and character, or else because he was exclusively religious in his aim. Let us now turn our attention to traits in him that might be regarded as more incidental, more separable from the person and character of the preacher, more a matter of choice on his part, choice that might conceivably have been different from what it was. We treat now of the *homiletic method* of Jesus.

In the first place, it is very noticeable that Jesus took advantage of the incalculable oratoric reinforcement to be drawn from fit *opportunity*. He hinged and jointed his instructions into particular occasions suggesting them, or at least making them at a given moment especially apposite. The gospel historians are faithful in enabling us to make this useful note as to Christ's method in preaching.

Again, and in the same wise spirit of thrifty self-adjustment to occasion, Jesus, where occasion did not offer itself ready-made to his hand, would say something introductory to serve the purpose of an occasion. For instance, he would rouse attention and expectation, by providing beforehand, over against what he had to say, some antithesis to it, real or apparent. "Ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, Resist not him that is evil," is an illustration of this method on the part of Jesus. For we have here, not, of course, abrogation of civil law with replacement of it by lawlessness, by anarchy—which, in the sphere of human government, the absolute *non-resistance* in terms enjoined would be; but simply a rhetorical device for commanding attention and strengthening impression. Indeed the whole series of antitheses from which our example foregoing was drawn, may be said itself to constitute an illustration at large of the point in teaching method here brought to attention. Jesus wished to enforce the high severity of the personal righteousness

required in the kingdom of heaven. He does it most effectively by contrast. He sets his own standard of righteousness over against the imperfect standard maintained by the popular religious teachers of his day: "Except your righteousness shall *exceed* the righteousness of the Scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no wise enter into the kingdom of heaven." This is the general statement, and then follows the series of instances in which Jesus points out the imperfections, or the faults, of the morality taught, as from the Mosaic institutes, by the best-reputed contemporary doctors of the law. It is the homiletic expedient exemplified of teaching by antithesis.

Paradox was with Jesus another favorite expedient of teaching. Perhaps no other teacher ever made proportionately more use of this expedient than did he. You cannot understand Jesus without often making allowance for paradox in his form of expression.

Jesus was sometimes even more frankly rhetorical than has yet been shown or suggested. Take, for instance, that saying of his, "Whosoever shall break one of the least commandments, and shall teach men so, shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven." Here, manifestly, the rhetorical quest of balance and antithesis, of symmetry and epigram, in form of statement, leads Jesus to say what he did not desire to have taken in an absolutely literal sense. Hyperbole is yet another rhetorical expedient freely used by Jesus in his discourse. Consider the following: "If any man . . . *hateth* not his own father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." The vast, the immeasurable, claim on his own behalf which Jesus habitually makes does not itself admit of overstatement; but the just statement of it here made is made by means of overstatement the most extraordinary. It is a case of hyperbole rendered more hyperbolic through accumulation and climax. We must beware, in the case of Jesus, as theologians long ago ought to have done in the case of the apostle Paul, not to make dogma out of mere rhetoric.

The *parable* was one more feature in the preaching method of Jesus; perhaps the most commanding one of all. Certainly no

one else ever approached Jesus in mastery of this teaching instrument. Evidently this teaching instrument is one that may equally well be employed to throw light or to throw darkness on the subject of discourse. That Jesus employed it now for the one and now for the other of these two opposite purposes, seems implied in the narrative of the evangelists. "Opposite," I call these purposes. But even when Jesus employed the parable for darkening truth, we may be sure that the darkness cast was cast for the gracious end of awakening desire for light. Hearers that really wished light would be given light. It is not for a moment to be supposed that Jesus ever darkened men's minds with parable, when a different method of instruction adopted by him would have had on those same men's minds an effect more salutary both for themselves and for the general interests of the kingdom of God in the world.

A further feature belonging to the homiletic method of Jesus was the just balance that he held between the two contrasted moods and tendencies of thought often designated, respectively, the optimistic and the pessimistic. Jesus was neither a pessimist nor an optimist, whether in his temperament or in his preaching. He mingled light and shadow, hope and fear. It cannot truly be said that either one of these two mutual opposites predominated in Jesus, whether we regard him in his person or in his preaching. It is true, indeed, that toward the close of his earthly career, the animating hope, if ever such hope lived in his breast, of great and saving results for his nation and for mankind, to flow from his preaching, seems to have suffered extinction; and the darkness, both of the doom impending over the guilty Jewish state, and of the end awaiting himself in Jerusalem, overshadowed more and more deeply his spirit. The predictions, couched now in parable and now in straightforward statement, that issued from his lips, were gloomy in the extreme. But even these were relieved with gleams of promise and of hope—for a remnant; and the discourse of Jesus, as a whole, if not to be pronounced enlivening rather than depressing, was at least enlivening as well as depressing. To describe his preaching as mainly of a bright and cheering tenor, would be to make a

serious critical mistake of disproportion in judgment. He saw things as they were, and not under any glamour of rose color thrown upon them from a light and happy temperament in himself. Solemnity is the prevailing character impressed upon the teaching of Jesus. If it is once said that Jesus "rejoiced in spirit," that note of mood in him produces on the reader an effect of the exceptional rather than the ordinary; and the joy attributed seems, even in the case of exception, to have been a joy impressively solemn in character. The church has made no mistake, all these Christian centuries, in conceiving her Lord as a Man of Sorrows and Acquainted with Grief.

Accordant with the equipoise in Jesus between the sanguine and the despondent, in his way of regarding the world, is the even-handed justice with which he metes out his awards of praise and of blame. There is, however,—and it could not be otherwise if justice prevailed—a very noticeable predominance of blame over praise in the sentences from his lips. The note of rebuke, nay, even of heavy-shotted denunciation, is very strong (and this note not infrequently recurs) in the discourses of Jesus. Nothing could exceed the unrelieved, the red-hot, the white-hot, indignation and damnation launched by Jesus against certain classes and certain individuals among his hearers. The fierceness indeed is such that it is plainly beyond the mark of what could properly be drawn into precedent for any other preacher. Jesus is hardly in anything else more entirely put outside the possibility of classification with his human brethren, than in the article now spoken of.

Of the physical manner, that which may be called *elocution*, in Jesus as preacher, we have absolutely no notice in the histories extant of him. Once or twice indeed it is noted that he looked round about him with anger at the hardness of heart displayed by certain hearers of his; and once that looking upon a young man he loved him. Such hints, rare as they are, stimulate us to imagine that the features of Jesus were mobile and expressive during his speech. One thing, however, we instinctively feel to be certain, that even in his most terrible invectives there was no violence of tone, of gesture, or of manner. If fidelity would

not permit him to appear relenting, equally, the quality of love in him would not permit him to be vindictive.

In fine, and somewhat abruptly, by way of even doing to the present topic a seeming disparagement required by truth, it must be said that Jesus as preacher was in his own view nothing whatever in importance compared with Jesus the suffering Savior. "I, *if I be lifted up*, will draw all men unto me," he said, near the end, with a depth of meaning and pathos beyond reach of human plummet to sound ; and, at the very last, "This is my *blood* of the covenant, which is *shed for many*." What his preaching, even *his* preaching, had failed to effect, it remained for his obedience unto death, the death of the cross, to accomplish. His preaching itself thus acknowledged that his preaching alone was vain. Jesus as preacher preached Jesus as Redeemer by blood. He set herein an example which every faithful minister of his gospel, to the end of the age, must follow.

CHRIST IN ART.

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WHEN Eusebius was asked by the sister of Constantine for a likeness of Christ, he reminded her that she could not expect a likeness of his unchangeable nature, nor yet of his glorified humanity. The only possible likeness would be one of the frail human body, which he carried before his ascension. Even this last was unattainable, since the Christians could tolerate no attempt to portray him who was to them God manifest in the flesh. The scruples that controlled that early Christian feeling have long since vanished, and no divine mystery, whether of the Trinity or of the Eternal "whom no man hath seen nor can see," has been unattempted by an art that has at least not lacked in daring. And as one turns from the attempts to picture the Master of us all, one is often moved to feel that the old reserve had advantages that might commend it to these latter days. We cannot think of Christ apart from the transcendent aspects of his nature, but how can they be portrayed? What men mean for strength and dignity often appears only sternness. What they mean for boundless compassion appears effeminacy. Zeal too often becomes mere fanaticism. Or the effort to combine all his characters results in something neither human nor divine, at best an unnatural symbol.

It is generally conceded that no tradition has come down to us concerning the personal appearance of Jesus. Doubtless in the first days the thought of the glorified Lord who would shortly come again, left little room for interest in the form which he wore in the days of his humiliation. A description purporting to come from a contemporary, Lentulus, and which has greatly influenced modern attempts to portray Jesus, is a palpable forgery from about the twelfth century. The so-called miraculous portraits, said to have been imprinted on cloths by Jesus as he wiped

his face with them, and to have been given one to Veronica, the other to Abgarus, are also apocryphal. In the writings of the first two centuries there is not a trace of any description of the Lord's appearance, excepting hints that relied avowedly on inference drawn from Scriptures such as Isaiah 53:2, 3 and Psalm 45:2-4, or from incidents in the Lord's own life. In fact there were two



SYMBOLS FROM THE CATACOMBS.

diametrically opposed conceptions current in the Church, defended by passages from the Old Testament such as those just cited, the prevailing opinion in the earlier time being that the Lord's personal appearance was at the best without beauty; while another judgment believed that he was "fairer than the children of men."

Though indulging these guesses as to his appearance, it is not strange that the early Christians shrank from the idea of a picture of Christ. Their revolt from idolatry, and a care to give no ground for the charge that they were simply devotees of a new idol would operate to prevent their making pictures of their

Master. Furthermore the second commandment was not unnaturally felt to forbid the making of any image of the "Word made flesh." And had they had the impulse so to use art to honor their Lord and assist their devotion, the associations of the only art they knew with the excesses of idolatrous worship, and with the debauchery of heathen life, would make it seem an unfit hand-maid for religion pure and undefiled.

Yet the early years were not without some artistic expression. At first the ventures were most modest. On the grave of some Christian, or the stone of some seal, or the walls of a chamber in the catacombs, symbols began to appear. Commonest among these symbols are the fish and the monogram. The fish had the double advantage of representing in itself various Christian ideas such as baptism, and the gathering of the soul into the church; and of carrying in the Greek form of its name an anagram of many names of Christ.¹

The monogram dates in its developed form at least, from the time of Constantine. It consists of a combination of the first two letters of the Greek word *Χριστός*. A rarer form is a combination of the initial letters of the two names *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*. These doubtless grew out of a use of the simple X with a possible double reference to Christ and the cross.

To these pure symbols were added symbolic scenes from the Old Testament, such as the history of Jonah, typifying the resurrection; that of Daniel in the lion's den, and the three children in the furnace, setting forth the same fact; Moses striking the rock, to suggest Christ the fountain of living water; the sacrifice of Isaac by Abraham, to suggest the sacrifice of Christ. Heathen mythology also furnished symbols, the most common being Orpheus charming the beasts, to suggest Christ's restoration of harmony to the creation. With these symbols there appear two others drawn from the New Testament, namely the Lamb and the Good Shepherd. This last is perhaps the favorite one of all. It is found on the walls of the catacombs of St. Callistus and of St. Priscilla, as well as in other ancient cemeteries and on early sarcophagi. While the idea comes from the New Testament, the type

¹ *ΙΧΘΥΣ* = *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτήρ*. Jesus Christ, God's Son, Saviour.

of representation is so like heathen pictures of Apollo feeding the flocks of Admetus, or of Hermes the Ram-bearer, as to suggest that the Christians have merely consecrated a current type. One possible evidence of this indebtedness appears in the fact that in some of the pictures, as in some heathen prototypes, a



goat or kid takes the place of the lamb. This substitution was not, however, unthinking, since in one picture the Shepherd with the kid stands between a sheep and a goat. It is doubtless a confession of faith in the wide mercy of the Saviour, and perhaps a remonstrance against the rigor of the Montanists.¹

In these pictures the Good Shepherd is a young man, beardless, with a classic face. This too was an inheritance from the pre-Christian days. But it seems to have suited the ideas of the Christians, for when we find them venturing on more than a symbolical representation of the Lord, this type of face is the one adopted. Christ is so pictured in several scenes taken from the gospels,—notably the raising of Lazarus, the scene at Jacob's well, the miracle of the loaves and fishes,—as well as in pictures of the Lord on his judgment throne with the books before him. It would seem

¹ See the beautiful sonnet by Matthew Arnold.

*He saves the sheep, the goats he doth not save,
So rang Tertullian's sentence, on the side
Of that unpitying Phrygian sect which cried :
" Him can no fount of fresh forgiveness lave,
Who sins, once washed by the baptismal wave."
So spake the fierce Tertullian. But she sighed,
The infant Church ! of love she felt the tide
Stream on her from the Lord's yet recent grave.
And then she smiled ; and in the Catacombs,
With eye suffused but heart inspired true,
On those walls subterranean, where she hid
Her head 'mid ignomony, death and tombs,
She her Good Shepherd's hasty image drew--
And on his shoulders, not a lamb, a kid.*

that by this young and vigorous type of face the Christians wished to express their belief in the victorious immortality of their ascended Lord. There is something of exultation in their conception, which shows that the notion that Jesus was without comeliness, was applicable in their thought to the state of Christ's humiliation only. It is clearly the Lord of life and glory rather than the Man of sorrows that meets us in the Catacombs.

The scruple against portraying the Lord having passed, different types of picture became current according as one or another conception of Jesus was uppermost in the mind. We have seen that the early pictures suggest the glorious Lord, now at the right hand of power. Towards the fourth century the beardless face gave way to one with a beard, and of an older aspect. The idea that the appearance of Jesus was plain or even repellant was one that the growing spirit of asceticism in the church eagerly adopted. And as this spirit laid hold on the church's life, a change came over the representations of Christ. Gradually there became current a type of face haggard, full of grief, marked by suffering, a type emphasizing strongly the sufferings and the humiliation of Christ rather than his present glory. This face is older than the earlier type, and is bearded, the hair also being long and parted in the middle. This conception soon became a tradition in the church, and any departure from it was held to savor of sacrilege. It is known as the Byzantine type and is found in most old mosaics and in many old paintings.

The beard and the long hair naturally fit with the notion that Jesus, like John the Baptist, was a Nazarite. These actually appeared independently before the development of the Byzantine type, and, in fact, are now characteristics of the artistic ideal of the Christ head. Some of the early bearded representations of Jesus retain the beauty and vigor of the smooth-faced youth. In the pictures of Jesus, in fact, different conceptions of him found differing expression; and it is interesting to note that the two so-called miraculous portraits represent the rival types, the uncomely and the beautiful,—that connected with the name

of Veronica giving the thorn-crowned man of sorrows, while the Abgarus picture shows a bearded face, youthful and fair.¹

This diversity of conception was an inevitable result of the loss of all record of Jesus' actual appearance, and also of the transcendence of his nature as it is set forth in the New Testa-



MOSAIC HEAD OF CHRIST IN THE CHURCH OF
ST. APOLLINARE, RAVENNA.

ment. The incarnation, involving as it does the union of the divine and human, is beyond the power of man to comprehend. Much less can he picture it. All that is possible is an apprehension, more or less adequate, of one or more features of that sur-

¹For the early period see especially Bishop Westcott's essay, *The Relation of Christianity to Art*, in his *Commentary on the Epistles of St. John*, Macmillan, and in his *Essays in the History of Religious Thought in the West*, Macmillan, 1891. See also Archdeacon Farrar's, *The Life of Christ as Represented in Art*, Macmillan, 1894, and Mrs. Jameson's *The History of Our Lord in Art*, Longmans, 1865.

passing Person. This has been proved by the course of Christian thinking on the person of Christ. It is evident in the course of Christian art.

The types of representation are not confined to the two which early became current. The development of Mariolatry carried with it a practical if not avowed transfer of the characters of gentleness and compassion from Jesus to Mary. From the eleventh century on, the Last Judgment came to be a familiar subject for artistic representation. One readily recalls the frescoes of Orcagna in the Campo Santo at Pisa, many paintings by Fra Angelico, that of Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel, that of Tintoretto at Venice, and the lurid pictures of Rubens at Munich. At first Mary was represented only as one of those at the side of the Lord. Later, however, she appears in the attitude of an intercessor, seeking to soften the rigor of the offended Christ who, as Mrs. Jameson says, appears rather as prosecutor than as judge. This last perversion of truth has not escaped criticism even from adorers of Mary. But it shows how the pictures of Christ are the register of the artist's conception of him.

The breaking with tradition that came with the revival of learning led to a general abandoning of the stereotyped conceptions that were ruling sacred art. A note of reality entered into it that was fresh and individual. This appears plainest in the representations of the Madonna, in whom human beauty and tender motherhood assert their rights as over against the unearthly mode of representation that had removed her far from common life. Unfortunately the interest of that day found so much more to its mind in the Virgin than in her Son, that pictures of his face are relatively rare. In such as exist, however, the new individuality of conception appears. Reference to Michael Angelo's Last Judgment has already been made. The commanding figure of the Lord, stern and terrible, visiting vengeance on the sinful world, is at least original. If we repudiate the conception as false in its severity, losing as it does all thought of "the Lamb in the midst of the throne," we must acknowledge its clearness and force. The artist has made it tell his conception unmistakably. The break with tradition, however, did not issue in a gen-

uine realism. The Lord, however his face and form were conceived, was pictured in the midst of ideal or distinctively modern and European surroundings. The Last Supper of Leonardo da Vinci, the Miracle at Cana by Veronese, the Blessing of Little Children by Rembrandt, not to mention the earlier and more formal works of Fra Angelico, do not carry us to Palestine and the first century; rather they are altogether ideal compositions, or Jesus is placed in an Italian or German environment,—the general scene, the type of face, and the halo or nimbus with the conventional garb serving to identify the Lord.

In this, sacred art followed the method pursued in all the painting of the time. Doubtless the archæological question hardly occurred to these men. In so far as in painting Christ they were consciously expressing a belief rather than reproducing an ancient scene, the archæological consideration would be indifferent to them.

Not until our own day has sacred art called in archæology to be her handmaid. The modern study of the life of Jesus, in connection with its social and material conditions, has awakened an interest in the Bethlehem stable, and the Nazareth home, the hillsides by the sea of Galilee, and the Holy City with its temple and palaces, as they actually appeared when our Lord knew them. We are interested to know what he wore, what kind of books he read, how schools were conducted in Nazareth, and what sort of service they had from Sabbath to Sabbath in the synagogues. Inquiry into these things has given a whole mass of new material to artists who will attempt to picture Christ.

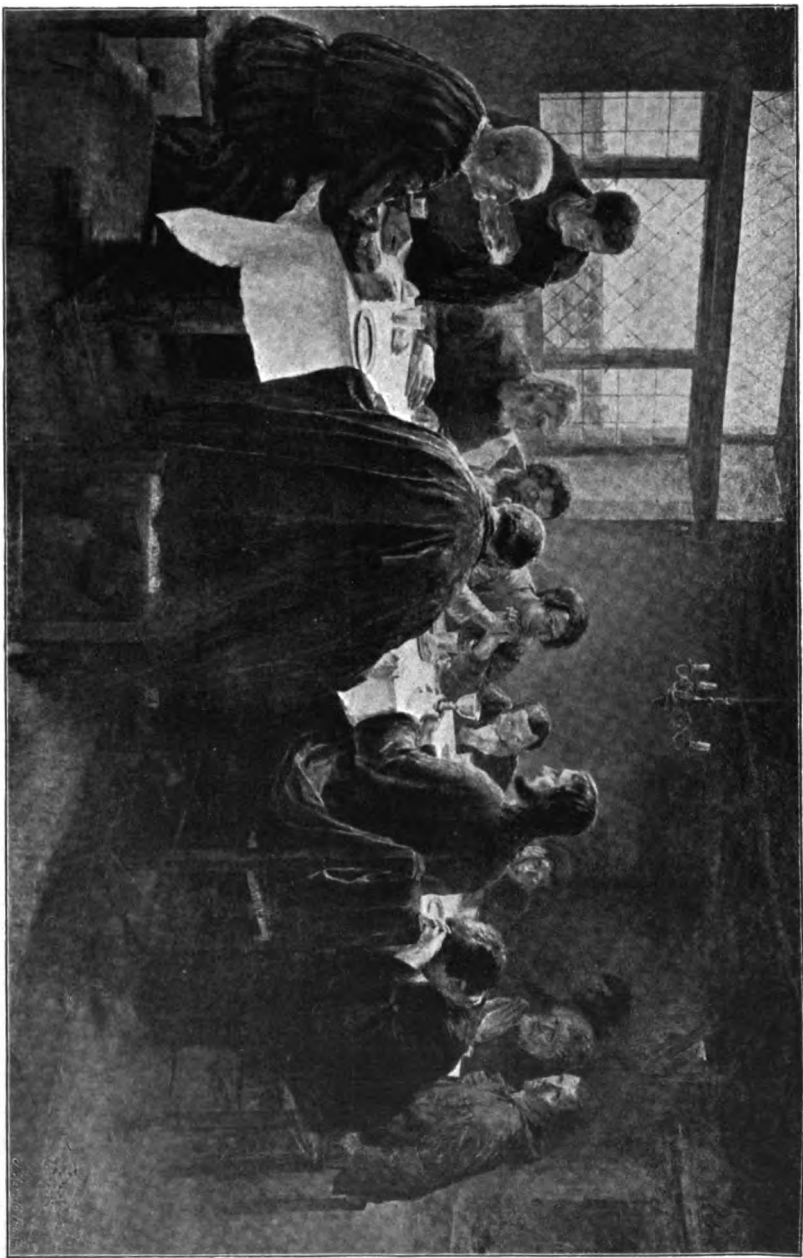
And artists have not been slow to use the material thus given. We now have a picture of the Visit of the Shepherds to the Bethlehem stable, by Le Rolle,^{*} that gives a new reality to the record of that first Christmas morning. Holman Hunt spent many years of study in Palestine to enable him to tell the story of the "Boy Jesus in the Temple." The more familiar picture represents the moment when Mary has found him and is leading him away as he says: "How is it that ye sought me?"

^{*} See illustration on page 438.

There is another that is known to the public only through an engraving published in the *Contemporary Review* for August, 1890, and reproduced in Archdeacon Farrar's recent book, *The Life of Christ in Art*. It represents the boy considering the questions of the Doctors. The engraving is not at first sight attractive, but it repays study because of its minute accuracy of detail. One longs to see the original. When these pictures of Le Rolle and Hunt are called realistic we must not think of them as lacking in ideality. They suggest at once the transcendent nature of the subject they present, and that not only by the use of the halo. They are marked by a reverence and high spiritual insight that makes their realism simply a contribution to our knowledge of the Word made Flesh. There are other realists whose religious feeling is not so true. Undeniably great as is Muncacsy's "Christ Before Pilate,"¹ fine in its details, and most strong in its conception, yet the face and figure have more of the fanatic in them than suits the Friend of publicans and sinners. Even less satisfactory, though immensely suggestive, are the Galilean scenes of Verestchagin. The environment in these pictures is excellent, and so far as it goes the representation of Jesus is instructive, but it fails to go under the surface and discover what Matthew Arnold called the sweet reasonableness of Jesus, not to mention the more transcendent qualities that no painter can depict, but which may give a picture an atmosphere full of "the sense sublime of something far more deeply interfused."

Even more noteworthy than the strict realistic development in religious art is the movement represented at its best in Germany by Von Uhde and Zimmermann, and less attractively in France by Béraud. The aim of these artists seems to be "to represent Christ and the New Testament events as present day actualities." Fritz von Uhde is called the apostle of the movement. Having resigned a commission in the German army, he studied painting in Munich and Paris, and in 1884 exhibited his *Suffer Little Children to Come Unto Me*. He had chosen for the scene a German peasant's house, and the children that were

¹ See illustration on page 410.



THE LAST SUPPER.
—VON UFFELS.

crowding about him were German children. All was conceived with great reverence, and executed powerfully. The picture at first aroused severe criticism, but it has made its way into high favor. Mention may be made of a Holy Night, of which a copy was published in the Christmas number of *The Century* for 1891, in which the same peculiarities appear. Especially interesting are the intensely modern cherubs that are introduced into the picture. Prominent among others of Von Uhde's works is a Last Supper.¹ The scene is a German peasant house, the table and its furnishings are very modern, though of humble sort; the group of disciples consists of humble German folk,—plain, poor, but most earnest. The moment chosen is that of Judas' departure, and Jesus seems about to institute the Supper. The grief and consternation of the disciples, together with most loving attentiveness to whatever he will say, are wonderfully set forth. There is much more in the same spirit from this artist. The one unsatisfactory thing in his work is the Lord's face. It lacks the force we demand in it. It is not equal to the rest of Herr von Uhde's conception.

This last criticism does not lie against another artist of the same school,—Ernst Zimmermann. One of the most satisfactory of recent pictures is his Christ and the Fishermen.* The moment depicted seems to be that when Jesus says to Peter, "From henceforth thou shalt catch men." The scene is a lake side. The fishermen have left their boat, and the Lord is speaking with the oldest of them, while all listen with intense interest. The Lord's face is in profile, which may account for its satisfactoriness, leaving, as it does, something for each devout imagination to supply. But the serious earnestness, the consciousness of a high mission, that appear in it, as well as the affection and strength apparent in the way the hands lie on the old man's arm, show that the artist has a deep and clear thought of Christ. Much the same figure and character appear in his Christus Consolator,³ where Christ is seen bringing healing to a dying boy, who lies on a pallet in a chamber pinched by

¹ See the illustration on page 499.

² See the illustration on page 477.

³ See the illustration on page 509.

very modern poverty. Much the same reverence and some of the like power are to be seen in L'Hermitte's *Friend of the Lowly*;¹ or, as it is sometimes called, *The Supper at Emmaus*. It has become familiar to very many through its exhibition in Chicago and in Boston.

The leading French representative of this movement, Jean Béraud, while strong and most original in his work, is not so satisfying. In his choice of scenes and his treatment of them there is an element of criticism of modern life that has been well termed sarcastic. Criticism life clearly needs, but these introductions of Christ, and especially of Christ and his cross, into Parisian surroundings are at first sight repellant. However, it must be remembered that the crucifixion was Jerusalem's condemnation for its blindness and hypocrisy, far more than its execution of a disturbing enthusiast, and that these pictures are a powerful sermon addressed to modern pride and godlessness. The hopeful feature in all this movement is that it is evidently art with a message, and that a most earnest one. It has taken hold on some aspects of truth concerning the Lord, it has felt their universality, and in this way it most forcibly asserts their pertinence to our day, and our day's need alike of Christ's rebuke, and of his tenderness and inspiration.

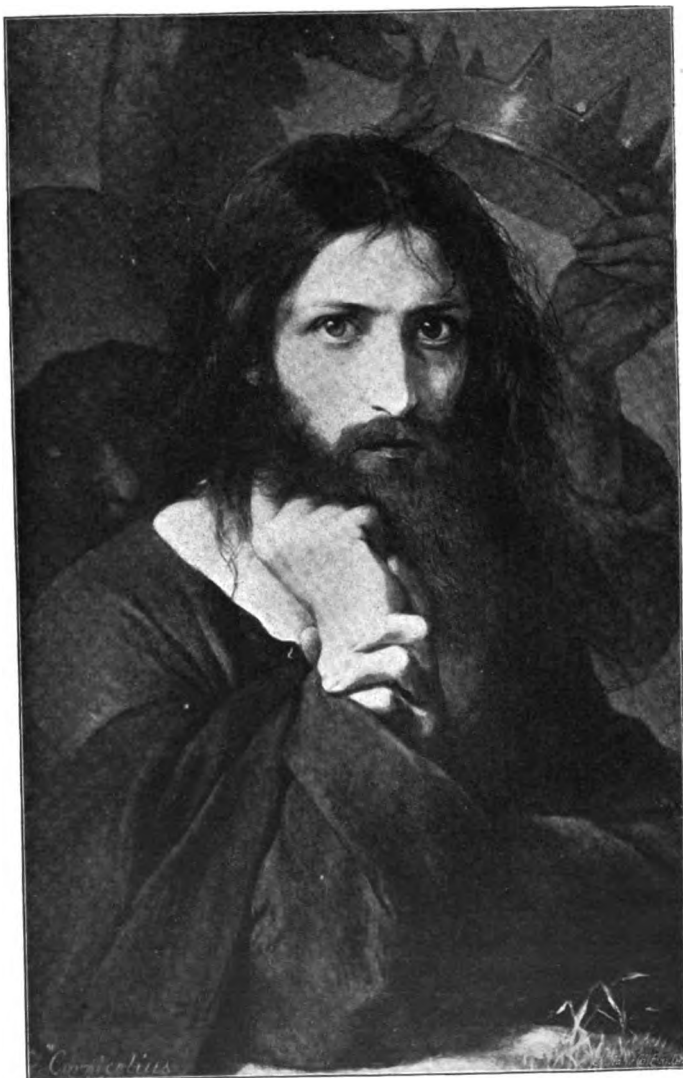
In idea, though not in method, there should be associated with these last mystical realists, a group of men who in method follow more nearly the older lines of representation and, in picturing Christ, go for details of architecture and dress partly to a knowledge of archæology, but more to a fertile and chaste imagination. They may be called the idealists pure and simple. Of these Hoffmann is the easy leader. His pictures are so well known that it is necessary only to call attention to one that has recently been reproduced in photograph. It is *Christ in the House of Mary and Martha*. The face is the same that has become familiar in this artist's work² and the story is sweetly and profoundly told. Plockhorst, whose *Good Shepherd* is familiar, is of the same school with Hoffmann. It is probable that we

¹ See illustration on page 517.

² See, for instance, the cover of this number and the frontispiece.

should class with the work of these idealists also a remarkable picture of the "Temptation" by G. Cornicelius. It is simply a noble Face wrapped in intense thought—note how the left hand grips the wrist—while the suggestion of easy empire which comes from the Devil who seeks to put a crown on Jesus' head, reveals the reason for the intense gaze which tells of battle waging in the heart. The reality of "suffering" in temptation, together with complete freedom from the taint of the least surrender, are marvelously pictured here.

How interesting it would be to consider the work of Rossetti and Millais and Burne-Jones, of the new Russian school led by Nicholas Gay, of Morelli in Italy, and Carl Bloch among the Scandinavians! But the aim of this paper is not a history, only a hint at some of the relations of Christ to art and some of the ways men have chosen to depict him. Such a consideration leaves the conviction that it is well that we have no copy of his earthly features, it is well that different conceptions of him seek expression in pictures. For our lack of an authentic portrait forces a closer study of that other portrait found in the gospels, to which Eusebius commended his Empress. And the diversity of representations forces us to criticise the conceptions that have so found expression, and leads to the discovery that Christ is too large for our full comprehension, and that while our heads are puzzling over the problem his nature has set to our thought, our hearts can largely and freely appropriate him.



THE TEMPTATION.
—CORNELIUS.

CHRIST IN POETRY.

By the REV. FRANK W. GUNSAULUS, D.D.
Chicago, Illinois.

THE dictum of Plato concerning good poetry has not lacked for impressive testimony to its truth, in the influence of the central fact of history, as it has touched upon that art and in the attitude of the poetic art itself to the fact—the incarnation of God in Christ. Said the Greek philosopher: “All good poets, epic as well as lyric, compose their beautiful poems, not as works of art, but because they are inspired or possessed.” Remembering what a feeble apprehension he had of the radical significance of Jesus Christ in the life and hope of man, we are not surprised at the method with which Matthew Arnold dealt with human problems, and the alleviations he offered for them. It is not too much to say that he furnishes an example of how surely even the most poetic fact of all time missed the privilege of enlarging and harmonizing one of the voices of our own time, because his spirit would be neither “inspired or possessed” by it. Mention is made of this fine figure in the history of that poetical literature which refers to Christ, because, at the outset of the study, it is well to reflect that the first thing demanded by Christ, either for salvation or for poetic representation, is the open soul, the child-spirit—something capable of being “inspired or possessed.” This capacity for being “inspired or possessed” Christ himself acknowledged that he must have before he might bless or redeem. “We are saved by faith.” From poet to poet Christ has gone in vain, “because of their little faith.” Matthew Arnold was a musician with fine and exquisite ear for truth and beauty and goodness, with a voice of somewhat thin quality and yet of sure-footed mastery, as he attempted his characteristic treble-tones, preferring minor to major, his whole personality dominated by such high intellectual power and such preconceived theories as to what is indeed “the song with which the morning stars sang

together," that the deep and universal theme and strain which reached its complete expression in Jesus Christ pleaded in vain at the portals of his soul and therefore could not either "inspire or possess him." He was a Greek, questioning, acute, wise, and sad. Plato was Greek, and more,—for he was so human as to be a prophet of the Christ, as were Isaiah and Virgil. The difference between Plato and Arnold may be seen in the comparison of the statement of Plato with that of Arnold, when this more recent thinker tells us that "poetry is the criticism of life." One, in pre-Christian days, touches the essential method of Christ-finding and truth-getting by pleading for that receptive, open-souled hospitality for experiences by which he may be "inspired or possessed;" the other, in Christian days, reverts to a method by which even the highest pre-Christian truth was missed. In those days men possessed themselves in self-contained and imperious calm. The poet is always the organ of a voice and a theme above him.

The place of Jesus Christ in the world's poetry may only be partially intimated here; but a few of the illustrations of how the poetry which has worshipped him has been saved and exalted by him are possible in such a brief excursus; and from them it is clear that Christianity has never been able to undo its essential nature by violating its own spiritual method. On the other hand, it has uttered itself on the lyres of the greatest poets because, not so much by the genius of this world alone, but by the genius which is open to the whispers of the universe, the highest souls have been the humblest. Therefore they have been so "possessed and inspired" that his divine glory has made their song immortal.

The poetry of Christianity may say, "I am apprehended of Christ that I may apprehend" the meaning of the world, the significance of man's life and struggle, the immeasurable hope and destiny, the open secret of Omniscient God. Only as any poetry is the result of the mutual life of mind and heart, as they are "inspired or possessed," by truth revealed to man, as he is influenced by plans higher than man's limping thought, is it a worthy "criticism of life." Only as any poetry records the supreme spiritual events, not unreasonable but above the ken of reason alone, and

visions of being to which men may aspire, is it, or can it be, a true "criticism of life." Jesus of Nazareth, as Saviour and Master, is life's truest, because life's most hopeful and sympathetic critic, flooding life's realm and process by the radiance of himself, at once man's revelation of God and God's revelation of man.

His presence in the plan of God, in the universal movement, leading

"to that divine far-off event
Toward which the whole creation moves,"

his existence and influence in the groaning system of incomplete creation as the Reason which was from the beginning and will be the Reason for it all at the consummation, his progress through the life of man's up-looking and seeking spirit, the hope of him which was the inevitable product of the soul as it was constituted and led by God through the evolution of its life and ideal—these are within, if they have not created that melodious rune which sings in the changing mass called nature. Poetry witnesses that these have made the "mighty riddle of that rhythmic breath" in the world of man's thought and sentiment which "suffers him not to rest." Poetry is the art which taps this central, elemental stream which "flows through all things," and, listening to its harmony, finding that it has discovered and has been made rhythmic with the musical theme, the poet's soul obeys, because it is "inspired and possessed" by this imperative cadence. When it expresses its experience with all possible fitness the result is undying verse.

Therefore the psalmists and prophets were men almost necessarily poetic. Poetry came when a Jacob wrestled until the breaking of the day with what seemed the incarnate Infinite, though it were called only an angel; or when, like Moses, a fine human eye, looking through flame and feeling that truth or goodness may not be burned, had listened to the Eternal in a burning acacia bush; or when, with the hot blast of life's problem bursting from a fiery furnace one saw a form like unto the Son of God; or when out of an abyss of despair a soul, like Job's soul, cries for a daysman that shall stand between God and man; or when a lawgiver, knowing the impotence of Sinai to govern men, looks

ever so vaguely for a lawgiver whose law shall have an authority like that of Calvary, toward whose altar all other altars seem to lean. Whatever opinions one may entertain as to the supernatural element in Hebrew prophecy and psalmody in the sacred writings, it is impossible to suppose that minds willing to be "inspired or possessed," who are therefore poetic in temper and method, should miss the fact that nature and life are persistently enthroning a human manifestation of the divine, and that a Christmas-day is drawing nigh somewhere and somewhen.

Virgil's fourth eclogue is to Christian poetry what Plato's vision of the "God-inspired man" is to Christian prose. It does not at all change the value of that poetry which, in the eloquent lines of Isaiah and other Jewish seers, exalts Christ, that we discover a noble propriety in the poem written on Virgil's tomb by a Christian singer; Dante himself might well acknowledge that the pagan, Virgil, had made him a Christian, as the Florentine sings to the Roman,

"On toward Parnassus thou did'st lead
My faltering steps, and in its grotts I drank;
And thou did'st light my wending way to God."

Beneath all the shadowy dreams of Israel and throughout all the expectant adoration of Messiah which sang its hope in the lines of prophet or bard in Hebrewdom, not less than in that "still sad music of humanity" which rises to the lips of pagan poetry, a true philosopher of literature and religion will see man obedient and hopeful in the presence of great symbolic ideals pointing Christward. These are the crude ore of poetry. Humanity has in all loftiest hours, when higher ideals have hurried men away at the cost of losing lower ideals, "drunk of that spiritual rock which followed them; and that rock was Christ." This minstrelsy has glorified the Redeemer. It was not strange that at the birth of Jesus the seeds of song garnered from the past should sprout and bloom instantly in the sunny day of that first Christmas. The old Hebrew verses melodious on the lips of those who had waited long, the o'erheard wafts of psalmody of God's messengers, were gracious and divine overtures to that vast oratorio of Christmas-song in which saint and martyr, mys-

tic and hero, ecstatic monk and poetic queen, have prolonged the harmony until the days of Kirke White, Keble, and Phillips Brooks. From Christmas-time to Christmas-time new song-movements have entered into this verse. The age of Ignatius is not more different from the era of the Salvation Army than are the resonant lines that tell of the birth of Christ. Human pain has told its character and quality in the new adaptation to human deliverance which poetry has found in the Christ-child. Indeed, this constant changefulness of human circumstance and want has made the pictures of every event in Christ's life completer and truer; and each song, enshrining in its worship any place in his career on earth, in the form of hymn or poem, has made him no less the king of all the ages because in it he has appeared so adorable in a special age.

This fact gives an age its characteristic Christian poem. Dante's "*Inferno*" is to the poetry what the "*Stabat Mater Dolorosa*" is to the music of the Middle Ages; what the "*Magna Charta*" of the Norman Barons is to the politics; what Thomas A'Kempis' "*Imitation of Christ*" is to the prose; what Angelo's "*Moses*" is to the sculpture; what the Milan Cathedral is to the architecture; what St. Bernard's "*Sermons on the Crusade*" are to the eloquence; what Fra Angelico's angels on the walls of St. Mark's, Florence, are to the painting of the same worshipping twilight time. The "*Stabat Mater*" is both literature and song, and it is not only, as it has been characterized, the most pathetic, —it is the most characteristic hymn of mediæval time. It is an illustration of what fortune befalls a great emotion and experience as they take their memorial form in hymnology. Emilio Castelar speaks of the Middle Ages—that time of mingled light and shadow between the date of the fall of the western end of the old Roman empire and that of the revival of learning—the long thousand years of gloom between the death of the old and the birth of the new civilization—as the Good Friday of human history. This hymn is that dark day's interpretation in melody. Dante himself was the loftiest of the prophets of that larger Christ-portrait which he did so much to give to our modern poets, in order that they may bring it nearer to completion.



CHRISTUS CONSOLATOR.
—ZIMMERMANN.

Toward that complete picture each age's care or sorrow contributes something. The first Christmas was prophetic of that perpetual Christmas morning which is constituted by human history, when Christ's re-coming in divinely "possessed and inspired" humanity shall bring the Kingdom of God, and domesticate here below the City of God "that cometh down out of heaven." He said: "It is expedient for you that I go away." "I will come again and receive you unto myself." Every succeeding age perceives and acknowledges this divine expediency. In a sense deep and significant, throughout his whole career on earth, Christ was trying to get his followers to see how God yearns to possess and inspire men. He regarded himself as the head of humanity. He would not separate himself from the race, even so far as the worship of his disciples suggested. "Worship God," he said, "My Father—he doeth the works." But he bound them to himself in the high privilege of their being recipients of the divine. This they share with him. He even went so far as to say, "The glory which thou gavest unto me, I have given unto them." He gave men power to become the sons of God, and he had revealed the possibilities of sonship. In this he was beginning that process of persuading his disciples to be "inspired and possessed" of the divine life, as he was,—a process which he continued and made more nearly sure of completion when he said: "It is expedient for you that I go away." He wished men to live by the Spirit. He knew that in sending the Spirit he would send into man's life the soul of a divine society which would be slowly formed in the society of men by their obedience to the things of his, which the spirit would show unto them. Thus would he prepare for and accomplish his own second coming "with clouds and great glory." This continuous event—the second coming of our Lord—may, or may not, issue in a single sublime crisis. This is not the place to discuss that problem. It, however, certainly is occurring. The promise he made is actually being fulfilled; and it is in this new coming of Christ, as a power by which men's thoughts and sentiments and purposes are "inspired or possessed," that poetry finds ample themes, its situations of genuine nobility, its utterances of fairest prophecy.

Indeed, the history of the development of the Christ-idea as Redeemer and Lord of humanity, the judge of all the earth, and the express image of God's person in history, may be found only in this form of literature. He has given to poetry its true epic movement, reaching a more heroic dignity in each age; he has invested its labors with the task of uttering fitly the eternal drama of man; in his presence in life and struggle the lyric voices have caught for themselves the purest and clearest tones, and, especially in recent verse, poetry has proven her profound instinct for truth by running far in advance of theological statements and becoming prophetic of a more Christian orthodoxy. The two poets whose dust has recently been entombed in Westminster Abbey have been more vitally effective in enthroning Christ Jesus than all the divines of Westminster; and the singers of that Christianity whose Christ is coming again in every form of righteousness and peace to make the *creature*, man, a *son* of God, are leading more worshipers to Calvary and Olivet than even the framers of the historic confession and catechism. So, confining ourselves to one illustration, we may perceive how the living Christ is greater even than the historic Christ, as he is presented by another age's highest poetry.

If we compare John Milton, "organ-voice of England," with Robert Browning, who has a voice of less volume and richness of tone, we readily find that the Christ of "Paradise Lost" or "Paradise Regained" is as much less influential amidst the sovereignties of time and eternity, as the merely historic Christ is far removed from that perpetual human problem in which the ever-present Christ is creating a continuous and freshly-born Christmas day as King of Kings and Lord of Lords. Taine is quite right in noting that much of the spectacle and movement of the divine in Milton's poetry was conditioned, if not produced, by the times of Charles I. of England. It is not a confession, either of ignorance or irreverence with regard to the great Puritan, to say that lofty as was his genius and rich as was his music, they never touched the deeps of the human problem nor did they reach the moral altitudes in which yearning and buffeted humanity has at length found peace with God. To a soul asking the questions

suggested in "Hamlet" and "Faust," not less than to a spirit perplexed with Lucretius or Æschylus, the splendid coronation of Jesus of Nazareth in Milton's best verse seems external and objective, not to say theatrical. The questions of life and time that pulse in the speech of the heart of man, until it grows a little weary of the trumpet-strains of Milton, are not modern or ancient queries; they belong to the soul of man and are uttered insistently whenever the soul has dared to reflect. Adam and Eve, "imparadised in one another's arms" are less interesting to the mind of man, as he feels for a Christ, than some spiritual Samson,

" Fallen on evil days and evil tongues,
With darkness and with danger compassed round."

But even a Christ for Samson is not sufficient. Doubtless Goethe was right; one of Milton's poems has "more of the antique spirit than any other production of any other modern poet," but it is not antiquity, or modernity, of spirit by which poetry, at length, has been gladly led to crown Jesus of Nazareth; it is the ageless and permanent spirit of man which, by elemental associations and needs, is destined to find a way to God. It would not have been enough if, when in his day Milton had met the queries of Giordano Bruno which still echoed at Oxford, or after the poet's visit to Galileo, he had been less wavering between the Copernican or Ptolemaic systems; the truth is that life has gone deeper and higher; it has grown larger needs, and the Christ answering to its thirst is greater. It is not true to say that our age has little else than

"This vile hungering impulse, this demon within us of craving."

The Christ shining in each age's poetry, in spite of the age's limitations, has made a new and larger portrait of man's Saviour necessary in the next age. He himself has confronted the soul's instincts—

"Which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain light of all our day,
Are yet the master light of all our seeing—"

and it is He who has said to the greater hopes which are children of greater spiritual struggles: "If it were not so, I would have told you."

The life-hunger which feeds upon the Christ of Robert Browning's poetry is not entirely the product of the two centuries lying between the date of "Paradise Regained" and the date of "Saul;" still less will the excellence of Browning's product account for the fact that it does, while that of Milton's does *not*, woo man's soul to adoration of the Christ. Browning's "Saul" is greater than any figure of Milton's verse, not as a creation by a better writer of rhymes, but only as a discovery of what is in man's heart and life, and of what no intervening centuries may make, namely, the hunger of the soul for redemption. The eye-glance of Browning brings to light the elemental facts in view of which there was "a lamb slain from the foundation of the world," It is the redemption of his poetry—this Christ-thirst—which cries with young David :

"O Saul, it shall be
A face like my face receives thee: a Man like to me,
Thou shalt love and be loved by, forever! a hand like this hand
Shall throw open the gates of new life to thee! See the
Christ stand!"

This poem illustrates the force of the ageless, preëxistent and post-existent Christ, no more than does one of the poems of Browning which is full of a classical atmosphere. It is more significant than that in which Milton learned of Virgil. In the poem, "Cleon," the modern singer has not so much reproduced the accent as the spiritual experience which speaks out of the weary and unsatisfied heart of ancient life. Its tone is both modern and ancient. The poet's feeling is as old and young as the soul. Cleon cannot avoid uttering his prophetic words that cry for Christ, even though he may despise Paulus and stand pledged to honor the dumb Zeus. The value of such an offering as is this poem to the worship of Jesus lies not less in its swift, bold portraiture of the real Christ than in its perception of the fact that paganism in any soul, ancient or modern, has the agonizing need which was experienced at that hour of the Greek decadence. Mrs. Browning more lyrically sings of the vacant world when Pan was dead; but Robert Browning alone has left a vivid portrait of the soul of man at that hour when, Cleon-like—poet

painter, and artist in method and in thought—the soul looks Christ-ward through mists of death, saying, as if to Him who brought life and immortality to light—

“I dare at times imagine to my need,
Some future state revealed to us by Zeus,
Unlimited in capability
For joy, as this is in *desire* for joy,
To seek which the joy-hunger forces us.”

So does poetry rear her modest rose where Christ answers the thorniest doubt. Milton had no such temptations or doubts to be met by his genius for faith, and therefore he could not offer such a portrait of what is essential in Christ. Browning sings:

“Why come temptations but for man to meet
And master and make crouch beneath his feet?”

and

“I prize the doubt
Low things exist without,
Finished and finite clods, untroubled by a spark.”

Each age's Christ creates, by displacement of ideals born of need, a larger area of doubt around the fact of faith. Browning's age has apprehended a reality more nearly as great as is the Christ of God, because of its greater necessities. Every new age is a new Christmas-dawn for the eternal Christ—“the Word which was from the beginning,” who is also the “reason of God” at the end of all things. In this lies the important contribution to Christian theology which, as has been confessed by the most influential devotees of dogma, such poems as “Christmas Eve and Easter Day,” and “A Death in the Desert,” have made in our time. In all these poems, there is a witness to the fact that the new faith in Christ's power and work is an evolution out of the older. Even Milton hinted at a faith that evil

“Shall on its back recoil
And mix no more with goodness.”

Dante himself, at an earlier period, had suggested such a picture of Christ as made Milton's achievement in poetry and faith possible to his hand. And, earlier still, Virgil, the master of the Florentine, in that poetry which, before the historic Christ,

anticipated the presence of the real Christ, had sung so deeply that Dante acknowledged him as master after thirteen centuries had slipped away. He refers to Virgil as he sings :

"The season comes once more,
Once more come Justice and man's primal time.
And out of heavenly space a new-born race
A poet by thy grace and thus a Christian too."

It is this intimate acquaintance which he has with the real needs of man, deeper than any utterance of the time of Virgil, Dante, or Milton, that gives Browning such a relationship with the dominant harmony that works through the discords of all times,—a harmony uttered completely only in Christ. In the three last mentioned poems from his muse, nothing is lost because he has in mind a Strauss, a Darwin, or a Renan, or even some staggering superstition, puerile in its second childhood,—each of these is a force in our troubled age. He simply places all these beneath the throne of Christ and makes them bow before the manger-cradle. Life is evermore the "chance o' the prize of learning love," and it is our noblest possibility

"To joint
This flexile, finite life once tight
Into the fixed and infinite."

Where is this infinite, or where is this finite jointed thus?
How shall he learn to love? The answer is given in Christ.

Helpful was the light,
And warmth was cherishing and food was choice
To every man's flesh, thousand years ago,
As now to yours and mine ; the body sprang
At once to the height, and stayed : but the soul,—no !
Since sages who, this noontide, meditate
In Rome or Athens, may descry some point
Of the eternal power, hid yestereve ;
And, as thereby the power's whole mass extends,
So much extends the æther floating o'er
The love that tops the might, the Christ in God.

It is this Christ in the song of universal being which makes the poet's rhyme, in which over all and in all and above all is

revealed God in Christ, so that we see Him even on the unsubstantial glory of nature itself.

Another rainbow rose, a mightier,
Fainter, flushier, and flightier,
Rapture dying along its verge!
Oh, whose foot shall I see emerge,
WHOSE, from the straining topmost dark,
On to the keystone of that arc?

.
He was there.

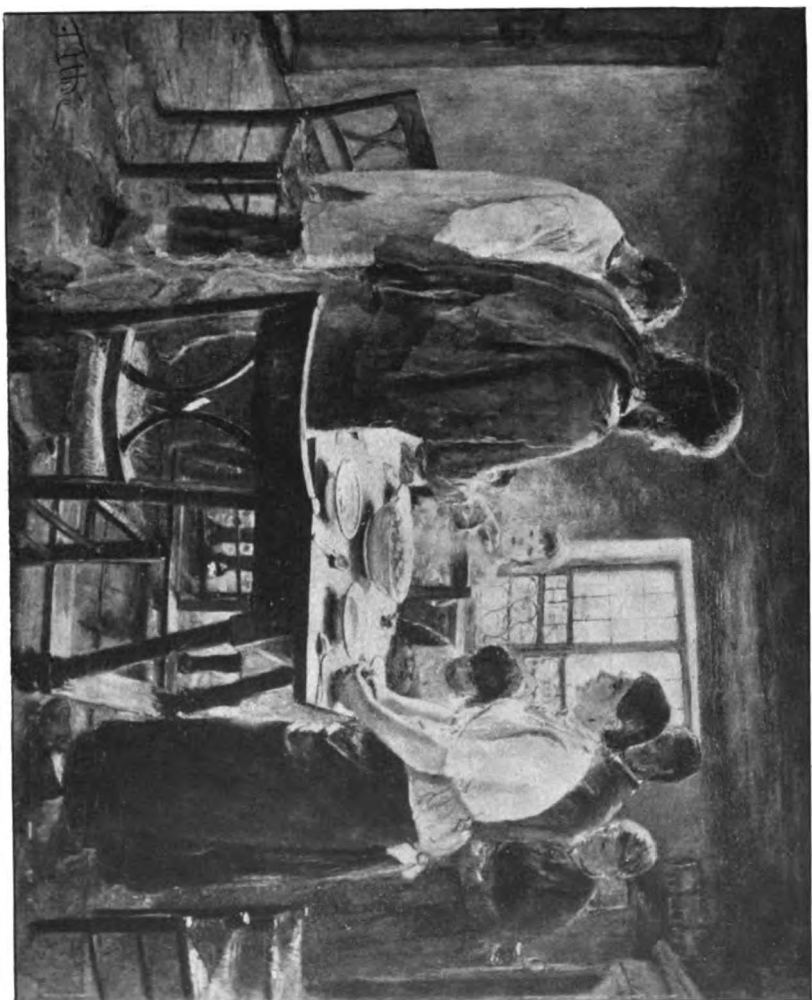
He himself with his human air.

The Song of Mary.

My soul doth magnify the Lord
And my spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour;
For He hath regarded the low estate of His handmaid;—
For, behold, from henceforth all generations shall call
me blessed.
For He that is mighty hath done great things for me
And Holy is His Name.
And His mercy is unto generations and generations
Of them that fear Him.

He hath shown strength with His arm,
He hath scattered the proud by the imagination of
their hearts,
He hath put down princes from their thrones
And hath exalted them of low degree!
He hath filled the hungry with good things;
And the rich hath He sent empty away!

He hath holpen His servant Israel
That He might remember mercy
(As He spoke unto our Fathers)
Towards Abraham and his seed forever.



THE FRIEND OF THE LOWLY.
—L. HERMITTE.

CHRIST IN HISTORY.

By PRINCIPAL A. M. FAIRBAIRN,
Mansfield College, Oxford.

General characteristics of Christ's place in history—Supremacy of the man over the Jew—Brotherhood of man his gift—A moralizer and humanizer of religion—The maker of moral men and the elevator of society.

Two things are characteristic of Christ's appearance in history; first, the limited and local conditions under which he lived, secondly, the universal ranges and penetrative energy of his posthumous influence and action. There are founders or reformers of religion whose influence has endured longer than his, for they lived before him; but there is no one who has been in the same quality or degree a permanent factor of historical change. The philosopher that is wise after the event may love to discover the causes or exhibit the process by which he passed from the mean stage on which he lived for three brief and troubled years, to the commanding position from which he has, for nineteen centuries, not only reigned over, but absolutely governed civilized man. But one thing is certain, neither the science which thinks it can explore the future nor the statesmanship which believes it can control the present could have beforehand divined or predicted the result. His life throughout its whole course was void of those circumstances that appeal to the normal imagination, and, without any doubt, his sudden passage from an obscure life amid an obscure people to the supreme place in history, is the most dramatic moment in the experience of collective man. If history be a drama, then he is the hero of the drama, who stamps it with its character, exhibits and unfolds its tragic problem, the person for whom it was written, through whom it moves, in whom it has its end. It is impossible that any philosophy which seeks to explain history can regard him as an accident; it is even more impossible that the science which seeks the reason of events should find the cause of his preëminence

in the hard and narrow racial conditions under which he was formed and within which he lived.

But our special concern is not with the emergence of the most universal person out of the most parochial conditions, it is rather with the modes and results of his historical action. These were retrospective as well as prospective, for his characteristic power of universalizing whatever he touched is illustrated by the respects in which he is distinguished from his own people. He was by blood and inheritance a Jew; all that the past brought to his race it brought to him, all that it brought to him it might have brought to his race. But the two cases are very different. In the hands of the Jew the whole inheritance remained racial, the book, the worship, the religion, the deity. The race with its beliefs and customs and legislation is the most wonderful example in history of distribution without absorption, of separate existence combined with universal diffusion, a people whose racial unity and continuity have been secured and perpetuated by their extinction as a nation. The most broken and scattered, they are yet the most united and exclusive of peoples, with all their historical possessions their own rather than man's. But where they have specialized Jesus generalized; what he retained of the Hebrew inheritance became through him man's, and ceased to be the Jew's. The Old Testament read through the New is not the book of a tribe but of humanity. The idea of a people of God translated by the term church becomes a society coextensive with man. Jehovah, seen through the consciousness of the Son, is changed from the God of the Jews only into the God and Father of mankind. In a word, he transformed his historical inheritance, universalized it, breathed into it a spirit that made it independent of place and time and special people, ambitious only of being comprehended by all that under it all might be comprehended.

This power to universalize what he inherited expresses an intrinsic quality of his personality; it is as it were, in spite of the strongly marked local and temporal conditions under which it was historically realized, without the customary notes of time and place. He became through the reality he was an ideal to

to the world, conceived not according to birth or descent but rather according to nature and kind. He impersonated man, and because of him man appeared to the imagination as at once a unity and an individuality. These are now among our most formal and even conventional ideas, but they can hardly be said to be ideas the ancient world knew. In it nationality was too intensely realized to allow unity to be conceived. Each people was to itself a divine creation, the offspring of its own gods, guarded by them, alone able to worship them, the gods as acutely separated from the gods of other peoples as the peoples from each other. And as there was no unity there could be no affinity; where there was no community of nature there could be no common mind or bond of brotherhood. As the absence of the sense of unity affected the outer relations of peoples, so the want of the idea of individuality affected the inner life of societies. It meant that there was no sufficient notion of the value or worth of man. Hence in the Oriental monarchies the dumb millions were but instruments of the sovereign will, to be sacrificed without scruple, as beings with no rights or hopes, whether in building a royal tomb or buttressing a tyrant's throne. Even in states where the idea of liberty was clearest and most emphasized, it was liberty not of men but of special men, members of a class or a clan, Greeks or Romans. Freedom was their inalienable right, but it was necessarily denied to Helots or to slaves. Thus, without the sense of human individuality, there could be no rational order in society, and without the feeling of unity no orderly progress in the race. But from the conception of Christ's person the true ideas sprang into immediate and potent being, though, as was natural, the lower idea of unity was active and efficient before the harder and higher idea of liberty. The belief in a person who was equally related to all men involved the notion that the men who were so related to him were equally related to each other, and the conception that he had died to redeem all, make all appear of equal value in his sight and of equal worth before God, who indeed as the God of Jesus Christ could know no respect of person. For in Christ there was neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, but only one new man.

And what has been the historical action of these ideas? They have set an ideal before the race which it feels bound to realize, though it may step with slow and labored reluctance along the path of realization. The pity for the suffering which has created all our hospitals and agencies for relief, the love of the poor which seeks to ameliorate their lot and end poverty, the sense of human dignity which hates all that degrades man, the passion for freedom which inspires whole societies and abhors the privileges and prerogatives of special castes, the equality of all men before the law which makes justice copy the impartiality of God—these and similar things are the direct creations of the Christian idea of Christ. Though they have not as yet been fully realized, still they have been conceived; they are ends towards which history in its broken way has moved, and dreams which society feels it can never be happy till it has embodied. And what do these things represent but the most potent factors of all its order and all its progress which history knows?

Connected with this is the degree in which he has at once moralized and humanized religion. It was on the side of morality that the ancient religions were most defective and inefficient. The gods were too self-indulgent to be severe on the frailties of man. Indeed no polytheism can be in the strict sense moral, for where the divine wills are many, how can they form a sovereign unity? And so while there may be worship, there can never be obedience as to a single and absolute and uniform law. As a consequence philosophy rather than religion was in the ancient world the school of morals, and its morality, though exalted in term was impotent in motives, a theme of speculation or discussion rather than a law for life. And we have further this remarkable fact that in the interests of morality philosophers in their ideal state or normal society restricted the area of religion as regards both belief and conduct. Two ancient religions indeed held a place of rare ethical distinction—Hebraism on the one side, Buddhism on the other, but the distinction was attended by characteristic defects. Hebrew morality was the direct creation of the Hebrew Deity. Religion was obedience to his will, and his will was absolute. Men became accept-

able in his sight not by "the blood of bulls and goats" but by doing justly, loving mercy and walking humbly with God. But this morality was too purely transcendental; in it man stood over against the Almighty will as a transient creature, and will as such is too cognate to power to be an elevating or always beneficent moral law. We can see this in the exaggerated echo of Hebraism which we know as Islam. There the divine will that has to be obeyed is but a will of an Almighty Arab chief who delights in battle, who glories in victory, whose rewards are for complete devotion to his service and his commands. Neither religion produces a really humane system of ethics, nor is such a system consistent with a pure transcendental deism. On the other hand Buddhism is strictly human alike in ethical standard and motive. Buddha is the ideal man and right conduct is the behavior that pleases him. He is pitiful and so pity of human misery is the note of the good man. But simply because there is no transcendental source or motive the ethics of Buddhism are pessimistic. They are possessed with the passion of pity, not with the love of salvation or the belief in the good of existence that binds a man to do his utmost to save men and ameliorate their lot. Now Christ represents the transcendental ethics of Hebraism and immanent ethics of Buddhism in potent union and harmonious efficiency. The man he loves is a man made of God, worthy of his love, and capable of his salvation. The God he reveals is one manifested in man, glorified by his obedience and satisfied with nothing less than his holiness; thus while the glory of God is the good of man, the chief end of man is the glory of God. In a word the ethics of Christ have more humanity than Buddha's, more divinity than the Hebrew. They have so combined these as to make of the service of man and the obedience of God a unity. This has made the religion an altogether unique power in history, has turned all its motives into moral forces which have worked for amelioration and progress of the human race.

This last point may be illustrated by the number and the variety of the moral men Christ has created. His church is a society of such men. It is scattered throughout the world, and

wherever it is, there live persons pledged to work for human good. It is hardly possible to overestimate the worth of a good man to an age or a place. He who creates most good men most increases the sum of human weal. And here Christ holds undisputed preëminence. There is to me nothing so marvelous as his power to awaken the enthusiasm of humanity. Organization may have done great things for ecclesiastics, but the supreme things accomplished in the history of Christendom have been performed by souls Christ has kindled and commanded. The church did not strengthen Athanasius to stand against the world; Christ did. What comforted Augustine was not the policy of the Eternal City, but the sublime beauty of the Universal Christ. Francis of Assisi was vanquished by his love, and all our early martyrs and saints, all our mediæval mystics and schoolmen bear witness to it, while the devotional literature of the church, its prayers, its hymns, the books that live because alive with love attest the preëminence and the permanence of personal devotion to Christ. In keeping a continuous stream of holy and beneficent men in the world he has affected the course of history, the movements of thought, all the ideals and all the aims of man. His name is thus a term denotive of the richest moral forces that have acted upon the lives of men. If we cannot love him without loving the race or serve him without being forced to the beneficent service of man, then his place in history is that of the most constant factor of order, the cause of progress and the principle of unity. In all things he has the preëminence; in him has been manifested the manifold wisdom of God. Over hearts and lives he reigns that he may in the ways of infinite grace subdue all things unto himself.

HELPS TO THE STUDY OF THE LIFE OF CHRIST.

By SHAILER MATHEWS.
The University of Chicago.

THE last few years have witnessed an extraordinary revival in the historical study of the New Testament. Since the days of the fierce attacks upon current religious beliefs by the so-called Tübingen school, there has been a steady advance in both the amount and the character of investigation given to the times during which Jesus lived, and the records that describe his words and deeds. Many of these works have been outgrown or superseded by later studies, but each has contributed something towards a completer knowledge of the times and the country, the social environment, and the course of thought in which Jesus and his biographers lived.

In the list below only such works are mentioned as both embody the results of recent scholarship and are believed to be especially adapted to the use of pastors and unprofessional students of the New Testament. It does not include works of purely historical or technical interest, or those written in a foreign language.

I. The Times of Christ.

The chief literary source of all works under this head is Josephus, whose histories, the *Antiquities of the Jews*, the *Wars of the Jews*, as well as his other writings, contain about all that is to be known of this period within the limits of Palestine, except what may be derived from the study of archæology. The arrangement of much of his material is, however, not the best, and on many other grounds it is advisable to supplement his account with the work of some modern writer.

FAIRWEATHER, WM., *From the Exile to the Advent*. (In the series of Handbooks for Bible Classes.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. 210. Price, 80 cents.

An admirable little text-book, giving succinctly an account of the Jewish people from the deportation under Nebuchadnezzar till the death of Herod I. Few references are given to other works, but the author has evidently read the most recent authorities.

WADDY-MOSS, R., *From Malachi to Matthew*. London: Charles H. Kelly. Pp. xiv. 256.

This little handbook attempts "to do nothing more than outline the history of Judea in the centuries that elapsed between the prophecy of Malachi and the event that forms the first theme of the New Testament." The author has rigidly kept to this aim, refusing to be led off into details, and, on the whole, has maintained a very good historical perspective. The treatment of the Maccabean period is especially good. It is not thrown into the form of a text-book, and its style is good. It unfortunately is not supplied with a bibliography.

SCHÜRER, E., *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*. Division I. The Political History of Palestine, from B. C. 175 to 135 A. D. 2 vols. Division II. The Internal Condition of Palestine and of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. 3 vols. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Price, \$8.00, net.

This monumental work by Schürer has made all other histories almost superfluous. In no other account of the period is there to be found such wealth of learning and such admirable arrangement of material. Its use of sources is exhaustive, and the work everywhere displays astonishing power in grappling with perplexities. Each section is preceded by a full bibliography, and all statements are substantiated by reference to authorities. In the first division of the work the author has given solutions to many geographical and chronological problems, besides compressing into reasonable space the account of the events of the period. The second division is especially concerned with the civil and religious institutions of the Jews, as well as the literature of the two centuries which the work covers. Especial attention is also given to rabbinism in its bearing upon the New Testament. No attempt is made at describing the social life of the times. In certain cases, perhaps, Schürer has a little too readily yielded to certain chronological difficulties of the gospel record, but in general his attitude is remarkably impartial, and at times in effect, if not in purpose, apologetic.

STAPPER, E., *Palestine in the Time of Christ*. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pp. xii. 527. Price, \$2.50.

This work is a most exasperating combination of fact and fiction. It needs severe revision. Yet, on the whole, it is about the only single volume in English which gives anything like a respectable account of the entire life—political, social, religious—of the Jewish people in the days of Jesus. Many of its errors are those of carelessness, and sometimes are so ludicrous as to be detected by any attentive reader. Its use of the Talmud is considerable, although uncritical.

SEIDEL, M., *In the Time of Jesus*. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. Pp. 188. xxv. Price, 75 cents.

Probably the best account in small compass of the heathen and Jewish world in New Testament times. It is especially good in its descriptions of the political and religious institutions of the Jews.

EDERSHEIM, A., *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*. Chicago: F. H. Revell & Co. Price, \$1.25

A popular, though scholarly little work, descriptive of the habits and customs of the Jewish people in New Testament times.

MERRILL, S., *Galilee in the Time of Christ*. New York: Whittaker, 1885. Price, \$1.00.

A helpful little volume of especial value from the personal investigations of the author. The general conclusion is favorable to the statements of Josephus in regard to Galilee in the first century.

DELITZSCH, F., *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Jesus*. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. Pp. 91. Price, 75 cents.

This little volume contains a great amount of information in regard to the industrial life of the common people in the time of Christ, and is written in an interesting style.

II. The Geography of Palestine.

HENDERSON, A., *Palestine*. (In the series of Handbooks for Bible Classes.) Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Price, \$1.00.

An admirable handbook, well up to date and generally accurate, both in description and maps.

SMITH, GEORGE A. *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. London: Hoddu & Stoughton. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Second ed., 1895. Pp. xxv. 692. Price, \$4.50.

An exceedingly stimulating volume. Not only is it a thesaurus of the best results of modern exploration in Palestine, but, as in no other volume, is the history of the land interpreted by its physical characteristics. Especial commendation should be given its maps. To read this volume is the next best thing to a visit to Palestine.¹ Its literary style is attractive although somewhat diffuse.

STANLEY, A. P., *Sinai and Palestine*. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son. Pp. 641. Price, \$2.50.

This classic in scriptural geography is by no means superseded by the work of Smith. In its descriptive and suggestive power it still is among the best modern works that attempt to show the relation between a people's history and their physical environment. In general, also, its identifications are accurate and its maps and colored plates helpful.

III. The Life of Jesus.

STALKER, J., *The Life of Jesus Christ*. Various editions. Pp. 167. Price, 60 cents.

A scholarly, and in every way delightful work. It is especially adapted to use in bible classes.

FARRAR, F. W., *The Life of Christ*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. Pp. xv. 472.

Full of fervid rhetoric and deep religious feeling. It is characterized by the author's generous scholarship and liberality. It is of especial value in helping the student to realize keenly the circumstances of his Lord's life.

ANDREWS, S. J., *The Life of Our Lord*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1891. Pp. xxvii. 651. Price, \$2.50.

Altogether the opposite of the preceding in its avoidance of all literary effort. As a result it is not easily readable, but is of the utmost value because of its exhaustive essays upon harmony, chronology, and geography. By all means it is the most scholarly production along these lines of any American scholar. No student of the gospels will neglect it.

¹ A review of this work will be found in the coming January number of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

EDERSHEIM, A., *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*. New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co. 2 vols. Pp. xxvi. 698; xii. 826. Price, \$6.00.

This is the most exhaustive study on the times of Jesus thus far produced by an English scholar. Its chief defects are the absence of any critical examination of the sources, occasionally poor exegesis as well as poor harmony, and an excessive pietism. But the merits of the work outweigh these defects. Viewed as a series of essays upon the customs and habits of thought suggested by the life of Jesus it is masterly and invaluable. If one were to own but one life of Jesus, it should be Edersheim's.

WEISS, B., *The Life of Christ*. Eng. trans. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 3 vols. Pp. xvi. 392, 403, 428. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Price, \$9.00.

Especially valuable for critical examination of the sources and deep spiritual insight. Though not so versed in rabbinical learning as Edersheim, Weiss is one of the greatest critics and exegetes. No one can be in touch with modern methods in the study of the gospels who is unacquainted with his critical position, however one may accept some of its applications and corollaries. There is great need of a life of Christ that shall combine the critical processes of Weiss and the Jewish learning of Edersheim with the literary excellencies of Stalker.

IV. The Teaching of Jesus.

BRUCE, A. B., *The Kingdom of God*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. Pp. xv. 343. Price, \$2.00.

As satisfactory a treatment of the central teachings of Jesus as exists. Like all of the author's works it is characterized by critical processes and deep religious reverence and insight.

HORTON, ROBERT F., *The Teaching of Jesus*. London: Isbistu, 1895. Pp. viii. 287. Price, 3s. 6d.

Dr. Horton tells us frankly that his lectures are based on Wendt's *Teaching of Jesus*, and Beyschlag's *New Testament Theology*, with an effort to supply that which is found lacking in them. . . . And now our recommendation is, that if anyone has set to read these books, he should read Dr. Horton's first.—*Expository Times*.

WENDT, H. H., *The Teaching of Jesus*. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. 2 vols. Pp. 408, 427. Price, \$4.50.

An admirable translation of the greatest systematic study of the teachings of Jesus thus far produced in Germany. It is marked by all the excellencies of

German scholarship, but is free from most of its faults. It is characterized by conservative exegesis, acute analysis of the gospel records, and reverent regard for truth. It goes far more into details than the work of Bruce, and it exhibits more completely the processes by which its results are gained. Its greatest defects are seen in its treatment of the Johannine account of Christ's teachings.

FAIRBAIRN, A. M., *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*.

"That mine of learning, masterly historical generalization, and rich suggestion has given new strength to the Christian consciousness throughout the English-speaking world; and the longer it is read the more generation of ideas it will be found to be."—George A. Gordon, in *Christ of Today*, p. vi.

BEYSCHLAG, W., *The Theology of the New Testament*.

A review of this great treatise, so far as it is concerned with the teaching of Jesus, is found on another page.

THE HALL OF THE CHRIST AT CHAUTAUQUA.

By BISHOP JOHN H. VINCENT.
Chautauqua Office, Buffalo, N. Y.

THE central thought of Christianity in this age is Christ—his person, his life, his teaching, the spiritual dispensation which he founded. It has not always been so. Men have exalted doctrine, philosophy, sacraments, ceremonies, priesthoods, ecclesiastical constitutions—everything but Christ himself. Men who study manhood look now to the man of Galilee. Men who study theology seek now “sound words, even the words of the Lord Jesus.”

The critical study of the New Testament tends to exalt its one all-dominating character. And this is well. Men who cannot understand philosophy can understand biography. When they are not able to accept the systematic creed-forms, dogmatically taught by doctors and councils, they are able to hear the wise sayings of the One who walked with his own disciples over the hills and through the valleys of Palestine. They see him on the human side. They study him in the light of ancient life. He is a man again—a teacher, a friend. Approaching him from the human side they are prepared for the deeper, the loftier revelations of the spiritual kingdom for the manifestation of which he became flesh and dwelt among us. More than ever do the scholars turn with delight and enthusiasm to the study of this “great phenomenon.” More than ever the specialists of the biblical schools turn to the study of the Christ as foreshadowed in prophecy, as revealed in history, as reported in literature and glorified in art.

At Chautauqua, Christ and his gospel have constituted the center of all teaching from the first day until the present, and it is now proposed to plant in the center of the Chautauqua grounds, in the midst of all other buildings at this rural university, a temple especially consecrated to the study of his life and

teachings, his relations to the age in which he lived, his influence on the race as developed in successive civilizations and the great schools of thought which have been created or inspired by his presence in the world.

This building is to be called the Hall of the Christ. It is to be a class room for the study of Christ by various grades of pupils, from the little children for whom while on earth he showed such delicate fondness, to the profoundest scholars who may meet to investigate the problems in philosophy, in philology, in literature, in art, in social and political life which are created or illuminated by his marvelous personality and ministry. The building is to be used for no other purpose whatever but to set forth the one idea—the germ and fruition of all great religious ideas—The Christ. Children will be encouraged to take a simple course of reading and study on which they must be examined before their admission as students in the Hall of the Christ, and this to create a greater interest on their part and to emphasize the value of the opportunity to which they are admitted.

A generous philanthropist who is famous for noble gifts and whose name will in due time be announced has made the first contribution of ten thousand dollars toward this project. The Hall of the Christ will occupy one of the most central, eligible and beautiful sites on the Chautauqua grounds. The building will be constructed of substantial material, and will be the most permanent and impressive in appearance of any building in that city by the lake, so solidly constructed that it may last for centuries, and capacious enough to accommodate on special occasions an audience of at least five hundred students.

A room will be set apart for a library of the lives of Jesus and for a selection from the most able discussions which literature furnishes relating to his person, office, work and influence.

Another room will be devoted to a collection of the best engravings and photographs of the great pictures and statues representing Christ—the contributions of the great artists of the ages to the interpretation of his personal character. It is hoped that before long a copy of Thorwaldsen's famous statue of Christ may be placed within the building.

An occasional reverent and beautiful service of worship to the Christ will be held, with all that music and devotional literature and the spontaneity of personal piety may contribute to this end.

The instruction to be given in the Hall of the Christ will be of the most thorough character, prosecuted in the spirit of reverent love, employing the latest results of the most critical study, that students looking eagerly and discriminately into the letter of the four gospels may come more fully and more heartily to appreciate him who spake as never man spake and whose name to this day is above every name.

The Hall standing in the center of the Chautauqua grounds will continually represent the central idea of Christianity and exalt him who was in his earthly life the Friend of the friendless, the Saviour of the sinful and whose gospel and spirit are today the most effective promoters of true social and political reform, and which are daily building up a civilization founded upon the broad doctrines of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

It is the aim of the projectors to make the building plain but impressive, Grecian rather than Gothic in style, suggesting as little as possible the "ecclesiastical" and emphasizing the true relation between Nazareth, Jerusalem, Rome and Athens, the alliance between the highest attainable human culture and the holiest personal character that ever shone upon earth, in pursuance of the thought that all culture, all material activity, all science, all philosophy, all literature, all art, all reform, all hope for humanity must center in him.

Another feature of the Hall of the Christ will be the provision of memorial windows and tablets devoted to the memory of departed friends—the Chautauquans of all the years since its founding. These windows designed by a skillful artist will commemorate the various events in the life of Christ from the Annunciation to the Ascension.

In front of the Hall it is expected that there will be a portico, and from it two arms or semi-circular porches will extend enclosing a space in which now and then a large audience may

be convened to listen to addresses or sermons. These architectural "arms" will represent in cenotaphs and statues the great characters of the Old Testament by which the Hebrew people were prepared for the coming of the Christ, while on the opposite side shall be represented in similar fashion the great characters of profane history who were in their times a light unto the world and a preparation for the coming of the Man of Nazareth.

This dream of a building will certainly become a substantial reality. Shall we have a word of suggestion concerning details from Chautauquans and others interested in the plan?



THE CHRIST CHILD.

—MURILLO.

Synopses of Important Articles.

JESUS' TEACHINGS ABOUT HIMSELF. By REV. JAMES ROBERTSON, D.D., in his recent book, *Our Lord's Teaching*, pp. 31-40.

Jesus presented himself as a problem to his countrymen, and after he had been manifested to them for a sufficient time, the testing questions he put to his disciples were these: "Whom do men say that I am?" and "Whom say ye that I am?" On the answer to this latter question it depended whether Jesus would find material for the foundation of a church; and when Peter answered well, his Master accorded him solemn praise (Matt. 16:16, 17). In one respect there was great reserve in his teaching about himself. Not till near the end of his ministry (Matt. 16:16, 17; 26:63, 64) did he openly avow himself, or allow himself to be declared the Messiah, the Christ. Often before, indeed, the consciousness of such a greatness showed itself in incidental sayings (Matt. 7:22, 23; 12:42; Luke 14:26; John 6:35; 8:12; 11:25; 14:6). But he long withheld from the Jews the plain announcement that he was the Christ. Obviously he did so because this title had been so tarnished and carnalized in their thoughts that he would have been quite misunderstood, and his death would have come before he had had time to win true disciples by his life and teaching.

Two names he used, the one with equal freedom in Judea and Galilee, *The Son of Man*; the other, mostly in his debates with the Jewish leaders at Jerusalem, *The Son of God*. Both of these were—so far as meeting the expectation of the Jews went—*incognito* titles. Jesus took neither of these names from the Old Testament for use, because it was an understood equivalent for the Messiah; they were not recognized by the people as distinct Messianic titles. They came from his own heart, the expression of his own consciousness of himself. The first title, the Son of Man, conveys two chief truths, the reality of the humanity of Jesus, and the uniqueness of it. He expresses by it the possession of true human nature, his community of feeling with men, his sharing in human affections and interests, his true experience of human life, his liability to temptation, his exposure like other men to hunger and thirst, suffering and death. And at the same time he thus described himself as the unique and ideal man, the man in whom humanity is summed up, and the "fulness of the race made visible," the Head and Representative of all men. The second title, the Son of God, implies the reality of his sonship, and the uniqueness of it. These truths Jesus most frequently pressed upon his Jewish opponents in Jerusalem, as recorded in the fourth gospel, with a view of proving himself the Son by laying open to them his actual and constant filial intercourse with God, in the beauty and perfect naturalness of

it which could not be feigned. There is, indeed, in much that Jesus says about his intercourse with his Father, nothing different in *kind* from that sonship with God which is possible for us, and is familiar in the experience of all true children of God. But there is a manifest difference in *degree*. His intercourse with the Father is perfect, complete, and unmarred by sin. All that Jesus says or does he knows to be of God. He is the Son as no one else is, from the perfection of his communion with God, and from the completeness with which his sonship is realized and constantly lived out. The terms in which this communion is described seem to require the doctrinal faith in which we have been brought up, that Jesus is of one essence with the Father, and one in eternal being with him. In many passages he speaks so that nothing short of this seems implied (John 16:28; 17:5; 8:58; perhaps 10:30; 20:28). Our faith in Jesus as the Eternal Son of God may stay itself not only on the unique communion with God which we see him enjoying, but on his own belief and claim and testimony. It is not meant that there are no other grounds for this great faith. There is also the apostolic teaching thereto. And perhaps if the faith of most Christian people were closely inquired into it would be found to rest largely on their own experience. They have felt the change and blessing which have reached them through communion with Jesus to be nothing short of divine. He has to them, as it has been expressed, "the value of God," and they cannot give him any lower name than that of the Eternal Son.

C. W. V.

THE INCARNATION AND THE UNITY OF CHRIST'S PERSON. By the REV. PRINCIPAL T. C. EDWARDS, D.D., in the *Expositor*, October 1895, pp. 241-261.

As the fulness and the glory of the incarnation lies in the true, divine personality of the Logos, so also the self-sacrifice which the incarnation implies is the act of the same Logos. The initiative in the incarnation must be ascribed to the Logos; that initiative is an ethical act, a "becoming poor" (2 Cor. 8:9), based upon a change of metaphysical condition. The apostle calls it a self-emptying (Phil. 2:6), which is a word so extreme and emphatic that we must beware of making the fact that it is unique a reason for refining it away. It was not in dying on the cross that the Son of God began to sacrifice himself, but in assuming human nature into union with his Divine Person; not as if the assumption of itself involved humiliation, for then the humiliation of our Lord would continue forever. But his incarnation involved his divesting himself for a time of the form of God and taking upon himself, instead of the form of God, the form of a servant. It is true that he had already obeyed his Father's command by incarnating himself; and, even previously to the act of incarnation, he was already from eternity ideally, though not actually, a servant, when he was king. But now he took the form and position of a servant, in which form it was not competent for him to assume the kingship without dying to regain it.

The doctrine of the self-emptying of the Logos is found in Origen (*Hom. in Jer.*, I., 7), among the Fathers. But it was not favored in the early church, owing to the influence of Athanasius, and to the extreme and confessedly heretical form in which it was thought to be presented by Apollinarius. But the words, "in the likeness of men," refer to the humiliation of the Logos incarnate. In the Trinity the Second Person is, in idea, human; but through incarnation he assumed actually the *humanlike* condition, though he continued to be God. In this century we are indebted to Thomasius (*Christi Person und Werk*, 1886) for the first elucidation of the kenotic theory. Dr. Bruce has subjected it (*Humiliation of Christ*, Lect. IV.) to very clear and most powerful, but, to my mind, not convincing, criticism. In the first place, he says that, according to the Thomasian doctrine, the incarnation involves at once an act of assumption and an act of self-limitation, the former an exercise of omnipotence, the latter the loss of omnipotence, and asks, Are such contrary effects of one act of will compatible? But there is no contradiction here. In the creation of the world God passes from a state of quiescence to a state of activity; the incarnation is a Divine Person, withdrawing himself from activity that he might be subject to infirmity. In the second place, Dr. Bruce acutely observes that the depotentiated Logos seems superfluous, because it implies that he has been reduced to a state of helpless passivity or impotence. But the kenosis consists of two successive steps. The first step was the laying aside the form of God, and this act the apostle dates back in the pre-incarnate state of the Logos. It was an infinite act of self-denial, than which a lesser would have been impossible to him, as well as incapable of being revealed as an ethical example to men. Then, when he had divested himself of his metaphysical omnipotence as Son of God, and was "found in fashion as a man," he humbled himself—an expression properly applicable only to a man or the Logos as man—and he humbled himself more than would have been possible to any mere man or angel, however perfect, and however much aided by the Spirit of God. For our Lord's moral omnipotence still remained to him, and the help of the Spirit was added, which enabled him to become obedient unto death, yea the death of the cross, and constituted his obedience redemptive—priestly and sacrificial. In the third place, Dr. Bruce objects that the kenotic theory introduces a break in the consciousness of the Logos as God. This holds good only against certain forms of the doctrine. Quiescence does not mean annihilation. All that is essential is that the Logos did not in any way or measure hamper the free activity of the humanity. An omniscient or omnipotent man, not in need of the unction and power of the spirit, is inconceivable, but a perfectly just and loving man, having the Spirit, is not. If the divine side of the complex personality of Christ is the initiatory and productive element, the human side is the regulative.

Among English theologians who accept the doctrine of the kenosis are Canon Gore (*Bampton Lectures*, 1891, Lect. VI.) and Principal Fairbairn (*Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 476).
C. W. V.

Comparative-Religion Notes.

Lectures and Meetings.—The American Society of Comparative Religion announced the following series of addresses during the past quarter. October 21, "Recent Outbreaks of Mohammedan Fanaticism and what they Indicate," by Rev. A. P. Atterbury, D.D.; "A Comparison of the Hindu Schools of Philosophy with Western Thought," by Rev. S. L. Beiler, Ph.D.; "The Bhagavad Gita and the New Testament," by the Rev. J. L. Clark. The meetings were held at the Assembly Room of the Methodist Book Concern, New York.

The second series of "Haskell Lectures" on the Relation of Christianity to the Other Religions will be delivered by the Rev. John Henry Barrows, D.D., at The University of Chicago in January 1896. His subject is stated as "Christianity as compared with the chief historic Religions." The religions considered and the order of discussion are as follows: Judaism, Parsism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism.

Dr. Barrows has resigned the pastorate of the First Presbyterian Church of Chicago in order to devote himself more entirely to another field of usefulness to which he regards himself as providentially called. This is the establishment of the Barrows Lectureship of the University of Chicago. This lectureship was founded in October 1894 by Mrs. Caroline E. Haskell with a gift of \$20,000. By its conditions a series of six or more lectures are to be delivered in Calcutta and other cities of India every year or every two years as may seem advisable. Their general subject is the Relation of Christianity to the Other Religions. Dr. Barrows has been chosen to deliver the first series of lectures. His conception of its importance has led him to give up the work which he has so long and so successfully prosecuted. Of the profound significance of the new work he thus speaks in his letter of resignation: "An unusual and most important responsibility has thus been thrown upon me, not only of presenting to the scholarly and thoughtful people of India in the chief collegiate and English-speaking centers the questions of the truth of Christianity, its harmonies with the truths of other religions, its rightful claims and the best methods of setting them forth, but also of laying the foundations of a Christian lectureship, already endowed, which is to be permanently maintained in the cities of India." The interest and sympathy of all Christian people will follow Dr. Barrows in his new field. It is the opportunity of a prophet of Christianity to do an unspeakably great service to humanity.

Work and Workers.

DR. H. B. SWETE, editor of the new Cambridge text of the Septuagint, is preparing an introduction to the Septuagint, for the use of students.

TWO new books upon the Pastoral Epistles are soon to be published by the Cambridge University Press (Macmillan, New York), one by Dr. J. H. Bernard, of Dublin, the other by the Rev. A. E. Humphreys, late fellow of Trinity College.

PROFESSOR A. C. ZENOS, D.D., who occupies the chair of Biblical Theology at McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago, is about to publish a book upon *The Elements of Higher Criticism*, from the house of the Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

A BOOK entitled *The Essentials of New Testament Greek* has just been published by Macmillan & Co., of which the author is Professor J. H. Hudleston, of the Northwestern University. The aim has been to give in a concise form those things which a beginner must have in order to enter upon the study of the New Testament in its original language. Lessons, exercises, text, vocabulary, grammar, syntax, these are the ingredients, and the book is a serviceable primer to introduce one to New Testament Greek.

THE death of Rev. Asahel Clark Kendrick, D.D., LL.D., took place at Rochester, N. Y., on October 21, at the age of eighty-six years. He had been Professor of Latin and Greek at Madison University, 1832-50, and since that time Professor of Greek in the University of Rochester, also teaching Hebrew and New Testament Greek for a time in the Rochester Theological Seminary. He was a useful member, 1875-81, of the American New Testament Revision Committee, and a translator and reviser of several great German commentaries.

SOME years ago Dr. Geikie's *Life of Christ* was translated into Russian at Moscow, with official sanction. Further recognition has recently been given the book. M. Pobiedonostzeff, the Supreme Censor of Russia, acting as the official of the Holy Synod, has directed that the book be used in all ecclesiastical middle schools of Russia. Also, the Council of the Ministry of Popular Instruction and the Committee of Education of the Holy Synod have ordered that the first part of the work be used in all the middle-class schools of the empire. Dr. Geikie's *Life of Christ* is an interesting and useful book, well adapted to the purpose for which Russia has chosen it. For English readers there are more accurate works upon the same subject, which are much superior to this one.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

To the readers of the *BIBLICAL WORLD* is made the first general announcement of a plan which will place upon a permanent and widely representative basis the work of the American Institute of Sacred Literature, which has held a tentative existence for more than a dozen years. This because, the aim being granted,—the promotion of a true and systematic study of the Bible throughout the world,—the best method of bringing about the result was yet a matter of experiment. The experimental period has now passed. The work of the Institute has become a part of the world's work. The following plan has been devised for the future conduct of this work, along the lines already well established and in new directions not yet developed.

The strong points of the plan lie (a) in the organization of the leading active biblical teachers of the country for a common purpose (§§ 2, 3, 4); (b) the constant training of new teachers in the *Guilds* of the *Council*, which will result in added dignity and a consequent increase of interest in biblical teaching as a profession (§ 9); (c) the possibility of increase in the working power of the Institute through Councilors and Fellows, in all parts of the country; (d) the body of patrons, who, although themselves unable to conform to the conditions of membership, in the *Council*, will yet stand back of the work in a practical way.

The *Council* has already been organized, and the transfer of the affairs of the Institute was authorized at the annual meeting of the Institute directors, in New York City, Nov. 29. A list of charter members and patrons of the *Council* will be published in the *BIBLICAL WORLD* for January.

1. The name of the organization shall be THE COUNCIL OF SEVENTY, in full "The Council of Seventy of the American Institute of Sacred Literature."

2. The purpose of the Council shall be (1) to associate more closely those who desire to promote the study of the Bible from the historical standpoint, and of other sacred literatures as related to it; (2) to induce properly qualified persons to undertake this work either independently or in connection with another calling; (3) to extend through the American Institute of Sacred Literature a wider acquaintance with the right methods of Bible Study and their results; (4) to direct the affairs of said Institute.

3. The Council shall consist of persons who believing that the critical need of the times is teachers of the Bible properly trained and imbued with the historical spirit, (a) having secured a thorough knowledge of a particular portion of the Bible or of other sacred literatures as related to it, and (b) having prepared themselves to teach the same, (1) shall by the acceptance of membership in the Council pledge themselves to accept such opportunities as may present themselves to communicate to others the results of their work in Bible Study, and (2) thus express themselves as willing to accept the appointments of the American Institute of Sacred Literature in so far as such appointments do not interfere with other obligations which they have assumed.

4. The number of members in the Council shall be limited to seventy and the

Council shall be divided into three Chambers according as their work pertains to the Old Testament, the New Testament, or sacred literatures in general. No Chamber shall contain more than twenty-three members exclusive of the President of the Council, who shall be reckoned as a member of each Chamber.

5. The officers of the Council of Seventy shall be a President, who shall be Principal of the Institute, a Recorder, who shall keep the records and edit the reports of the Council, a Treasurer, who shall also be the treasurer of the Institute, and a Trustee, who shall have general charge of the funds of the Council and who shall be elected by the Council from among the Patrons, a Master and a Scribe for each Chamber. These ten shall constitute the Senate of the Council, to whom shall be committed the management of the affairs of the Council in the intervals of its meetings and the detailed management of the Institute, which shall include the arrangement of courses of instruction, the organization of aggressive work, the selection and appointment of instructors. The President shall be elected by a separate ballot of each Chamber and a majority of the votes of each of the three Chambers shall be necessary to an election. The Recorder and Treasurer shall be elected by a majority of the votes of the three Chambers, and the Master and Scribe by a majority of the votes of the Chamber concerned. Friends of the work who may consent to render aid in furthering the purposes of the Council shall be denominated Patrons and their names published as such in the documents of the Council.

6. One-fourth of the Council shall constitute a quorum, provided each Chamber is represented. One-third of each Chamber shall constitute a quorum. One-half of the Senate shall constitute a quorum.

7. The charter councilors shall be Messrs.—¹

New Councilors shall be elected by the respective Chambers subject to confirmation by the Senate. The rank of Councilors in each chamber shall be determined in each case by academic seniority.

8. Each Councilor shall pay to the Treasurer for the general expenses of the Council and for the work of the Institute the sum of \$10 a year, payable semi-annually.

9. The Council shall hold an annual meeting in the month of December at such time and place as may be determined. At this meeting (1) the annual report of the President shall be presented; (2) an election of officers shall take place; (3) separate meetings of the Chambers shall be held for the discussion of special questions.

10. Each Councilor shall be authorized to organize a Guild of those of his pupils (a) who have shown sufficient advancement in biblical work and interest in the purpose of the Council to warrant such appointment; (b) who will undertake to give earnest attention to the securing of a thorough knowledge of a particular portion of the Bible or other sacred literatures; (c) who will make every effort to prepare themselves to teach the same to others; (d) who will hold themselves in readiness to accept the appointments of the Institute of Sacred Literature so far as such appointments do not interfere with other obligations which they may have assumed. All appointments to a Guild shall be made annually and shall be confirmed at the annual meeting by the Chamber of which the Councilor is a member. Members of the Guilds shall (1) be called Fellows of the Council; (2) report through their Councilors to the Chamber the work of each year; and (3) pay to the Treasurer the sum of \$5.00 a year. In filling vacancies in the Council preference shall be given to the fellows.

11. The Council shall undertake the publication of such pamphlets and documents as may be needed for the work of the Institute.

12. A record of the work of each Councilor and of each fellow shall be preserved. This record shall be printed annually and sent to each Councilor and Fellow.

13. An annual report of the work of the Institute shall be prepared by the President and shall be published for the benefit of the Councilors and Patrons.

The work of the Institute in all departments continues without interruption. In this new organization may be seen, however, a most important and significant indication of the great future for which the work of the past decade has prepared the way.

¹ Announcement in BIBLICAL WORLD for January.

Book Reviews.

New Testament Theology. Historical Account of the Teaching of Jesus and of Primitive Christianity according to the New Testament Sources. By DR. WILLIBALD BEYSLAG, Professor of Theology at Halle. Translated by REV. NEIL BUCHANAN. T. & T. Clark, 1895. Vol. I., pp. xxiii. + 419; II., pp. xii. + 517.

Professor Beyschlag in this, as he tells us, his life-work, treats of the teaching of Jesus according to the synoptists and according to the Gospel of John; the views of the first apostle, according to the Acts, the epistles of James and Peter; the Pauline system (flesh and spirit, Adam and Christ, God and the world, the establishment of salvation, the way of salvation, the life in the spirit, the Christian church, the consummation of the kingdom); the theology of Hebrews; and Johannine conceptions. In this review we are concerned only with the author's presentation of the teaching of Jesus. The contemporaneous Judaistic didactic ideas are in no way "indispensable to the understanding of the teaching of Jesus . . . quite apart from the fact that we have not sufficient sources at our command to gain a clear conception of the state of pre-Christian ideas of the time." Is the teaching of Jesus, or the doctrine about Christ, Christianity? The author occupies a mediating position as to this question, maintaining that the teaching has for its background a unique self-consciousness, the incomparable significance of his person, the latter rather than the teaching as such, accomplishing the founding of the kingdom of God. Jesus did not come into the world to preach the kingdom of God simply, but that there might be a kingdom of God to preach. But what is meant by the kingdom of God, or of heaven? "The kingdom of God in the perfect original order of things which has its home in heaven, in order to come down thence and realize itself on earth,—that ideal condition which humanity and history are to reach, that God may in his inmost essence, as eternal spirit and holy love, fill all and condition all that is in the world," p. 43. Its historical root was theocracy imperfectly realized in the land of promise, more vividly in the view of the prophets as the ideal picture of the future, but a theocracy the hope of whose realization on earth sank lower and lower, till Israel's eyes were raised to heaven in the hope of seeing what they longed for coming thence. There is a striking contrast between the conceptions of the kingdom held even by John and Jesus. John makes the kingdom act immediately in the way of blessing or condemning; "his preaching demands conversion, but only demands it, and therefore drowns the sweet sounds of promise by the thunders of approaching judgment." Jesus regards it from the first as his mission not to condemn but to save. Not the axe and the fire and the winnowing fan, but the condescending love of God, in virtue of which the spiritually poor may become divinely rich, is, rather, the characteristic trend in the Master's thought. The appar-

ent contradiction between the view of the kingdom as at hand and as yet to be, Beyschlag resolves at length by reference to progressiveness and growth.

As to the personal relation of Jesus to the idea of the kingdom, he was conscious of bearing in himself personally that very thing which he desired to set up in the world. What, then, was Jesus' thought of himself? From the beginning of his public ministry he was conscious that he was the Messiah. This was the presupposition of all his preaching, but he did not utter the name, nor allow others to do so, till a late period. The motive for this remarkable procedure is to be found in the gulf that lay between the popular idea of the Messiah and his own Messianic consciousness, as well as between the popular idea of the kingdom and his own. "If Jesus from the first had thrown the exciting name among the people, he would have called forth the most fatal misunderstandings and excitements." He must first beget a purer, higher, more spiritual idea of the Messiah, in the mirror of which he might be recognized as the Coming One. But, avoiding the name Messiah, he gave in lieu thereof the name Son of Man. How is this to be interpreted? By this term Jesus did not mean to describe his human nature, nor to declare thereby that his human existence is miraculous, a form of existence not original to him (against Meyer), nor to set himself forth as the ideal man (against Schleiermacher, Neander, Reuss), nor to show that nothing human was foreign to himself (against Baur), nor to emphasize thereby his being a son—referring to the seed of the woman—the protevangel (against Cremer); but he meant by this expression, furnished him by the well-known passage in Daniel, that he was "the God-invested bearer of the kingdom that descends from above," I., p. 67. But not this name, but the name Son of God leads us into the heart of the self-consciousness of Jesus. As the name Son of Man designated his office and calling, so the name Son of God designated his personal consciousness. He is God's beloved and God's likeness. He was conscious that he was Son of God before he knew himself to be the Messiah. Jesus regarded the divine sonship as resting on inner moral likeness to God, but in his case unique because absolute. Yet, inasmuch as the Son of God cannot be God Himself, we should not in any way confuse the name Son of God with the later name "God the Son," uttered in the doctrine of the church, —a name which sprang from an entirely different world of ideas. Jesus had no feeling of consubstantiality with God. His was a *purely human* consciousness,—yet sinless. What was Jesus' thought of God? Beyschlag controverts the position of Weiss (N. T. Theol. I., p. 64) that Jesus had no new idea of God to announce, as his God was simply the God of the Old Testament. One of his apostles made his whole gospel consist in the revelation of a new and perfect idea of God (1 John 1:5). Jesus first stamped the name Father as one proper to God, and meant to express thereby a purely personal relation that has no equal,—holy love. What was Jesus' conception of man? Recognizing the two factors, body and soul, flesh and spirit, Jesus saw in ethical personality man's capacity for immortality. Jesus presupposes the universality of sin. The best need to be converted. Continuance in sin

means the irrevocable ruin of the inner man. What was Jesus' doctrine of righteousness? Here the author's thought is rich indeed, and one despairs of adequately expressing it. God is *τῆλειος* in the ethical sense, hence the preaching of the kingdom is a preaching of the way of righteousness. In the teaching of Jesus this exacting side is fuller than even the announcement of grace. He even amended the law of Moses, repudiating parts of it. His "fulfilment" of law was didactic. His religious ethics rest on love to God and love to man. In reference to the latter, while the duty of rebuke goes with that of placability and forgiveness, the duty of love to forgive remains even where there is no apology or change of mind. Jesus does not make so much of the former, yet it is the background of all his teaching here. What is Jesus' doctrine of salvation? "Rationalism, in turning back from the doctrine of the church, which was based essentially on Paul, to Jesus' own plainer gospel, received the impression that this gospel is essentially a system of ethics." This is not the case, else we had therein, not gospel, but law more penetrating, more cheerless, more exacting than ever. Jesus presented the kingdom of heaven as salvation. The doctrine of righteousness merges into a doctrine of salvation. The way of salvation through calling and election, conversion and forgiveness, sonship and sanctification, is worked out at length. As to the saving significance of Christ's death, Beyschlag has no comfort for the traditional dogmatists. On Matthew 22:28, he remarks: "The traditional doctrine of vicarious satisfaction, as may be readily conceived, is imported into these words the more confidently, that it for once finds here the indispensable *debt* peculiar to it, which is wanting in almost all the rest of the New Testament." This *debt* is best explained by the image of redemption from slavery,—in this passage slavery to sin. Jesus cannot have thought of paying the debt of death due by others, by enduring death for them, because by the presupposition that God neither can nor will be gracious or forgive without a *λύτρον*, he would have destroyed everything he had up till then taught of the free grace of God, and the forgiveness which depends only on the sinner's return," pp. 152 ff. The author's chapters on the church are of deep interest, but we refrain from remark, save to note that Jesus came not simply to redeem the individual, but society.

Space will not permit our following the author farther. We return in conclusion to his point of view. He properly expects New Testament theology to rejuvenate dogmatics. But it seems to us that, while his own contribution is masterful and real indeed, his treatment of the subject is colored by his own dogmatic preconceptions. To this criticism he replies, however, in his preface. "History is not chronicles," he says, "but living reproduction of the past, and therefore must be to some extent subjective." This is of course true; and his biblical theology does not merge into biblical dogmatics, as has been charged. But at times his allusions to systems of doctrine are more than incidental,—so much so that "the scientific impartiality and objectivity of his historical account" is disturbed by them. Apparently, *e.g.*, he goes out of his way to oppose the Ritschlians, pp. 6-8. G. B. F.

Current Literature.

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VIII. *Max Reischle*: Sohms Kirchenrecht und der Streit über das Verhältnis v. Recht u. Kirche.

IX. *Frdr. Flöring*: Das Alte Testament im evangelischen Religionsunterricht.

à M. I.

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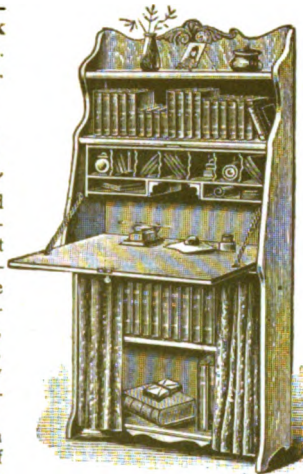
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